and solid drawing, a rich palette, fine transitions between colour tones and beautiful harmonies between warm and cool hues. They are far from decorative, there is not much use of ornamental drawing and strong contrasts of light and shadow.

The second painter worked mostly in the north part of the naos and the parekklesion of St. Nicholas (where he produced only the figure of John the Prodromos and several individual figures), the altar – his are the Old Testament scenes – and the narthex, certainly on the north portion of the Last Judgement and perhaps on the portraits of historical figures. In the naos he also painted the holy women, some of the holy warriors, St. Sava the Serbian and Constantine and Helena. He is distinguished by cooler colours, his figures are quite plastic and display a depth of pictorial substance. Because of a strong emanation of green from the base coat, they are pervaded by broad surfaces of cool colour which could not be surpressed by the finishing stokes of the translucent and warmer top coat of colour. In his best works – such as St. John the Prodromos, the Last Judgement, the holy women and warrior saints on the north wall – this painter displays a fine sense of movement and an ability to animate the figures out of their immobile stances. He breathed an air of comeliness and sophistication into the figures of the holy women and rendered the lustre of their gold-embroidered robes. He did not, however, overplay his sense of the ornamental so that the holy warriors he painted (St. Mercurios above all), although decked out with all their weaponry and many picturesque costume elements, were actually anatomically perfect figures of unencumbered movement captured as if in a freeze-frame.

A third type of pictorial image emerges occasionally in Gračanica in the Last Judgement, Dormition and the Trial of Christ before Annas as well as in the Annunciation above the apse of the south parekklesion and on some of the individual figures, especially the holy warriors on the south wall of the naos. Their author cultivated a more expressive drawing and deeper shadows which create stronger contrasts with the lighted surfaces. Hence, the faces of his saints are more relief-like while the absence of finer colour blending gives them an air of ruggedness and an almost sculptural quality.

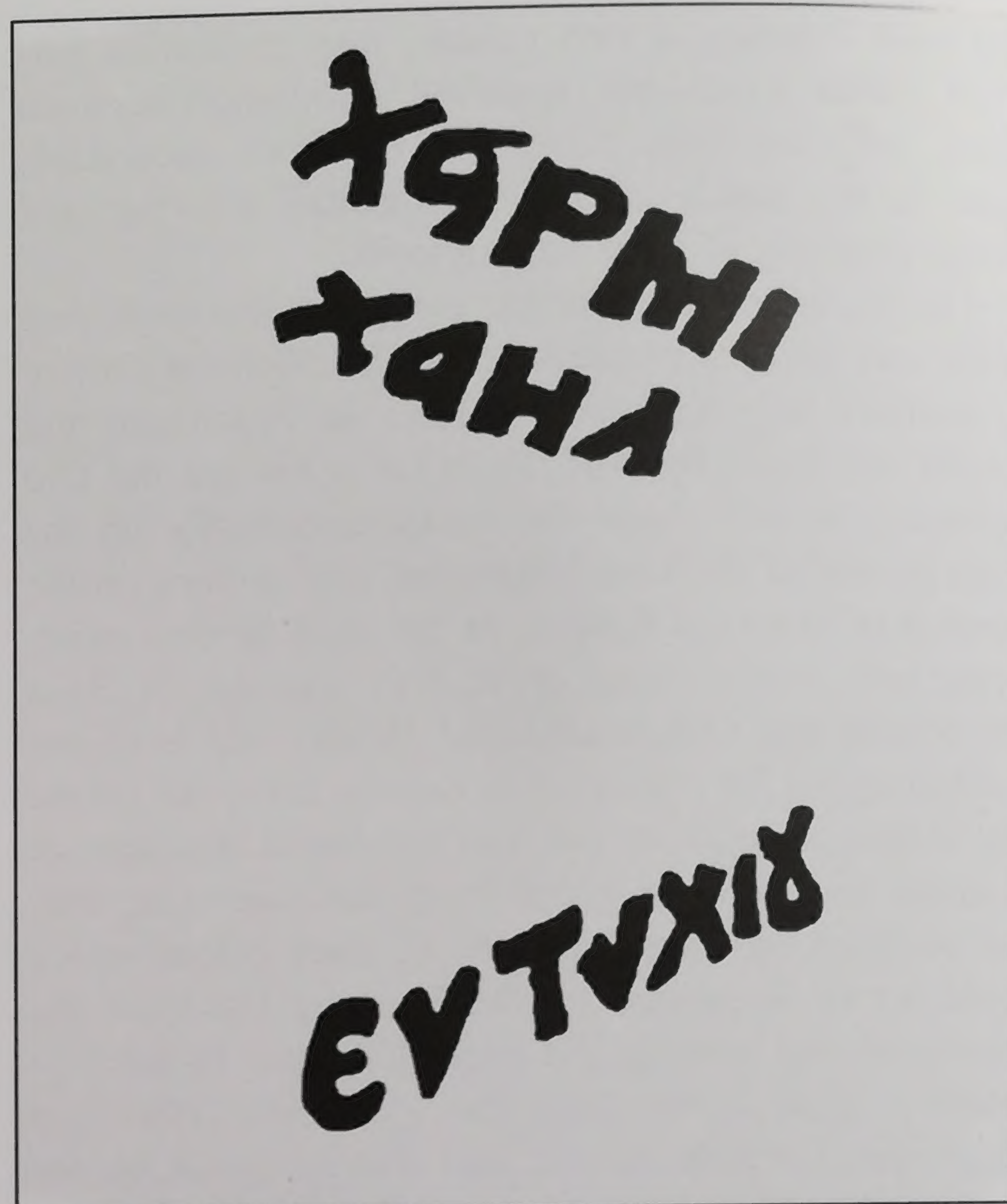
All the variations observed in the fresco decoration of Gračanica are the result of personal conceptions of the artists but they never grew to an extent which could encumber the uniformity of the whole, owing probably to the use of established iconographic models, a decisive influence of the leading artist and an intentional tendency of the painters to assimilate their manner of work. What remained after this intentional conformation of individual style to the whole was an expression of personal talent, technical prowess and pictorial structuring. The less able artists, despite their desire to emulate the work of the better painters, were not always successful in adjusting to the requirements of uniform expression. One of them was the painter who created the images of Sts. Epymachos and Clement in the south parekklesion and another the rather poor author of the cycle of St. Nicholas who had no sense of refined colouration which made his drawing seem a little naive, his composition empty and the architectural backdrop awkward.

The two leading artists of Gračanica could be identified as Michael Astrapas and Eutychios, based on what we know about them from their signed works or those ascribed to them with certainty.[43] Their frescoes are not only the most numerous in Gračanica but also the ones displaying the best qualities. The solid drawing permeated with academism, the large-scale and harmonious compositions and the balanced colouration disclose such skill and experience which, it seems, only Michael and Eutychios could have possessed in Serbia of those days. The great extent to which Gračanica relies on Nagoričino, in iconography, and on Studenica, in both iconography and style, could be explained only by the continual development of the work of these two artists. Along with many similar solutions found in Nagoričino, Studenica and Gračanica, sometimes practically identical and, as in the case of saint types, recurrent, in these churches there are also certain elements of a personal style of both Michael and Eutychios. They include dot-pattern shading by the line of the nose, thick, bushy eyebrows rendered in many strokes and a way of facetting flesh which, in the final works, no longer encumbered the tectonics of the faces. All these elements combined, from the system of decoration, the recurrent iconographic formulas and saint types to painting technique, make it possible to conclude that, following Nagoričino (1316–1317/18) and Studenica (probably 1318 or 1319), these artists painted the frescoes of Gračanica between 1319 and 1321.

The fresco decoration of the church of St. Nikita near Skoplje is, unquestionably, another creation of the same artists who signed their names on the shield of St. Theodore Teron. Most probably, they belong to the final phase of their career, falling, chronologically, immediately after the frescoes of Gračanica.[44] These frescoes display the highest degree of academism in

the development of style of Michael and Eutychios, a phenomenon first noted in Gračanica.[45] The walls of this middle-sized church received a perfectly distributed extensive programme which includes a cycle of the Feasts and representations of liturgical lections related to Christ's teachings, miracles, Passion and Resurrection appearances, together with a multitude of individual figures and several Old Testament scenes. It is obvious that Michael and Eutychios were able to further enrich the iconography of their paintings (Communion of the Apostles, Anapeson, Holy Trinity, Dormition and other scenes) and to transpose their experience in artistic creation into new forms. These frescoes reveal the long and complex path of development of the two artists, full of changes and intentions to keep up with the current trends in the art of Constantinople and Thessaloniki. In St. Nikita, not a trace remains of the athletic figures in bold movement which were so typical of the Ohrid Peribleptos or the attractive, bedecked characters from Ljeviška. Instead, figures of saints of well studied stances and gestures – adjusted in size so as to feel closer to the beholder already in Nagoričino, Studenica and Gračanica – became smaller, more elongated and lighter. Moreover, compositions were utterly reduced in format thus only adding to the almost intimate atmosphere which pervaded St. Nikita. The gradual process of disencumbering the composition and reducing it to well balanced classicist forms reached its zenith in Kraljeva crkva and persisted in Gračanica and St. Nikita. At the same time, compositions were becoming more dynamic, all the participants were being shown in movement or in indication of movement so that the picture was gradually loosing its representative guise. In St. Nikita, compositions of this type appear in the Last Supper or the Marriage at Cana, in which the characters seated around tables have their backs turned to the beholder and seem engaged in their personal conversations, suspicions and fears, as well as in the Purification of the Temple, Healing of the Woman with an Issue of Blood and the Dormition of the Virgin.

The new conception of the human figure and the tendency to subject it entirely to the interior structure and contents of the picture also affected the space around it. Painted architectural backdrops rose even higher, towering over the figures and even assuming tridimenisonal forms, owing mostly to the frequent protrusions in the shape of porticoes with slender columns (as in the representations of the evangelists, Presentation of Christ in the Temple, Last Supper, Marriage at Cana, Washing of the Feet and a series



of other scenes) and the disposition of the backdrops one in front of the other as in the Communion of the Apostles, Purification of the Temple and Dormition. Of course, these backdrops had no intention of being realistic, their symbolic value grew into a significant element of the picture which the artists treated almost with equal attention as the human figure. As such, they were far from bland and repetitious in form, size or perspective but rather imaginatively and freely shaped. On the frescoes of St. Nikita this backdrop reached the height of beautiful form filled with easy mixtures of quite realistic details and elements borrowed from the distant Hellenistic past, drawn freely from this heritage and fused into fantastic combinations. Along with the marble floors, columns and foliage capitels, edifices of basilical form and domes which appear to be true-to-life, here we find pediments of imaginary shapes, capitels in the form of lion heads, arches and vaults, fantastic multistorey constructions connected by vellums, draperies with ends tied around columns and rather undefined floral ornaments on the facades – all of which were only suggested in Gračanica. All these elements were painted with great care in order to create an illusion



of a particular time and space. The wall paintings of St. Nikita represent the final and highest point which Michael and Eutychios, as two true representatives of Byzantine academism from around 1320, could reach in rendering a world in which the real is mixed with the imaginary and the imaginable with the fantastic, a world which had its own dimensions and its own logic of existence.

That world of unencumbered forms and relations provides a setting for human figures engrossed entirely in their actions, figures which communicate with one another more by meaningful glances than gestures, or pensive figures looking straight ahead. There are no signs of pathos on their faces, no strong emotions or majestic tranquillity, no ostentatious or affected expressions as in Ohrid, Prizren or Nagoričino. Even in the most dramatic scenes such as the Purification of the Temple, Agony in the Garden or Deposition from the Cross emotions are subdued, expressed only by a slight grimace of upward curving lips, a gesture of a hand or a long, questioning glance. The bony faces of the aged saints with long, narrow beards are rather tired and gaunt while the younger men, often shown in profile or facing one another, retain some of the fervour as, for example, in the Purification of the Temple.

Compared with the frescoes of Gračanica, which are supposed to precede those of St. Nikita, these wall paintings display an even cooler colouration, especially on the south wall, while the transitions between hues are more striking. Brush strokes blend into broad surfaces of pastel tones, green shadows cover the faces with spots of warmer, translucent rosy shading restricted only to the cheekbones in a manner similar to the lower registers of the Gračanica naos. The characters which emerged in Studenica underwent significant alterations already in Gračanica. There, Christ – and not only Christ – did have an oval face of regular features in the upper zones but the further down the church walls we go we come across more elongated countenances with sharply pointed noses. This exact type of Christ is going to be painted throughout St. Nikita, along with a number of rugged profiles with deep shadows around the eyes, identical faces and similar stances. However, they were all more subdued and simplified, more polished and bland. The frescoes of St. Nikita offer the proof that the time of grand gestures and strong sensuality, seen in the Peribleptos, had passed together with the joy of creation which emerged in Ljeviška, the maturity which appeared in Studenica and the

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Čučer, St. Nikita, *Signature of Michael and Eutychios on the shield of St. Theodore Teron*, around 1320

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Gračanica, *Menologion*, detail: *Elevation of the Holy Cross*, 1319–1321



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Čučer, St. Nikita, *Healing of the Paralytic*, around 1320



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Čučer, St. Nikita, *Marriage at Cana*, around 1320

ease of painting displayed in Gračanica. Now, routine and skill dominate the picture with only an occasional sparkle of excitement and vigour.

Of course, even here Michael and Eutychios retained some of their personal characteristics which we have noticed already in Gračanica, Studenica or other churches which they decorated even earlier. Both artists kept their particular treatment of details within the whole, their figures became more similar, the painted architecture and draperies became uniform throughout the church. It seems that one of them actually worked more in the north and the other in the south part of the church, particularly in the space beneath the dome. The one working on the

north side was a better artist with a more sophisticated sense of the beauty of matter and the warmth of colour. His most accomplished works are the Purification of the Temple, Christ in the House of Martha and Mary, Healing of the Man with the Water Disease, Healing of the Paralytic and the central segments of the Communion of the Apostles and the Dormition. A number of figures in the lowest register can also be attributed to this master – the apostle Peter, archangel Michael, the Virgin and perhaps even St. Nicetas – as well as certain figures in the altar space such as Sts. Macarios and Clement of Rome, St. Andrew of Crete, Gregory the Theologian, Athanasios and Cyril of Alexandria. Warm colours dominates their faces, with red or rosy stokes on the cheekbones, around the eyes and on the earlobes, while the pale olive shadows appear to be far less prominent and the transitions between colour tones more gradual. It could be that this master was actually the leading artist of the group (Michael?), the most gifted, interesting and daring in accepting novelties. The touch of the second painter is most easily recognised on the figures of Sts. Theodore Teron, Sergios and Bacchus, most of the holy monks in the west part of the church and on the figures of Sts. Basil the Great, John Chrysostomos, Ignatios Theophoros and several other bishops in the altar. It seems that, in the upper zones of the naos, he painted most of the Feasts as well as the frescoes of the lower registers on the south wall and around the iconostasis, the apostles in the Communion of the Apostles and certain parts of the Dormition. This painter had a preference for landscapes of bright colours, figures showing a degree of deformity in the drawing, especially when rendered in profile, broader and less refined brush strokes and deep, dark shadows on the faces. His tendency to depict unusual gestures and daring movement – in the Last Supper or the Marriage at Cana – is not always backed up by a solid drawing so that, at times, his frescoes appear a little far-fetched and naive. Being inclined towards tonal painting from the very beginning, in the Peribleptos and Ljeviška, this painter (Eutychios?) further developed his technique in St. Nikita where his characters became entirely saturated with green while his brush stroke became almost invisible.[46]

St. Nikita marks the close of the more than a decade long stay and engagement of Michael and Eutychios in Serbia. This could have happened around the time of king Milutin's death, or shortly after. The passing of the king meant the departure of a wealthy ktetor. Also, the short but bloody feud over the succession to the throne and the death of archbishop Nikodim (1324), which issued thereupon, resulted in the dwindling of artistic activity. Did these new circumstances urge Michael and Eutychios to leave Serbia and continue their careers in another milieu? By the time they were engaged to decorate the church of St. Nikita they were already well into their mature years and it could just as well be that these frescoes represent the last work they painted together.

We only know that their stay in Serbia overlaps with the final and most mature stage of their career. With eyes wide open for the very best that the art of Thessaloniki and Constantinople had to offer, and showing great talent in adopting novelties, although always careful not to create too severe breaks with the style of painting they already cultivated, certainly enjoying the support of the most learned Serbs from both the Church and the Court which employed them, Michael and Eutychios left behind exceptional creations, a landmark in both Serbian and Byzantine art of the day. However much they changed over the years through which we can monitor their frescoes, especially those in Serbia, these painters were consistent in retaining certain personal traits which underwent little if any alteration. These characteristic details, we admit, can be followed owing first and foremost to their signed works, key in understanding their development. Their personal traits were not always an expression of the highest style nor a reflection of impeccable skill but this only made them more personal and easily recognisable. To varying extents, Michael and Eutychios immersed them into the classicist art they produced, even into that with a decisive air of academism, but these specific personal traits always shone through as a familiar leitmotif of their painting.

The emergence of the painters Michael and Eutychios whose art displayed such character was not unexpected in Serbia, a society which for over a century had already been cultivating art of the highest order, and their arrival was already heralded through the work of the fine artists who worked in the Holy Apostles at Peć or even those who were employed at Žiča. For nearly fifteen years the art of Michael and Eutychios set the standards for both the painters and the ktetors active in the Serbian milieu. Unquestionably, it played a significant role in forming its tastes and setting an example which certainly did not remain unechoed. We have already pointed out some of their anonymous associates who worked



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Čučer, St. Nikita, *Christ in the House of Martha and Mary*, around 1320

in Ljeviška, Studenica, Gračanica, and some of them may have gone on to decorate other churches in Serbia on their own.

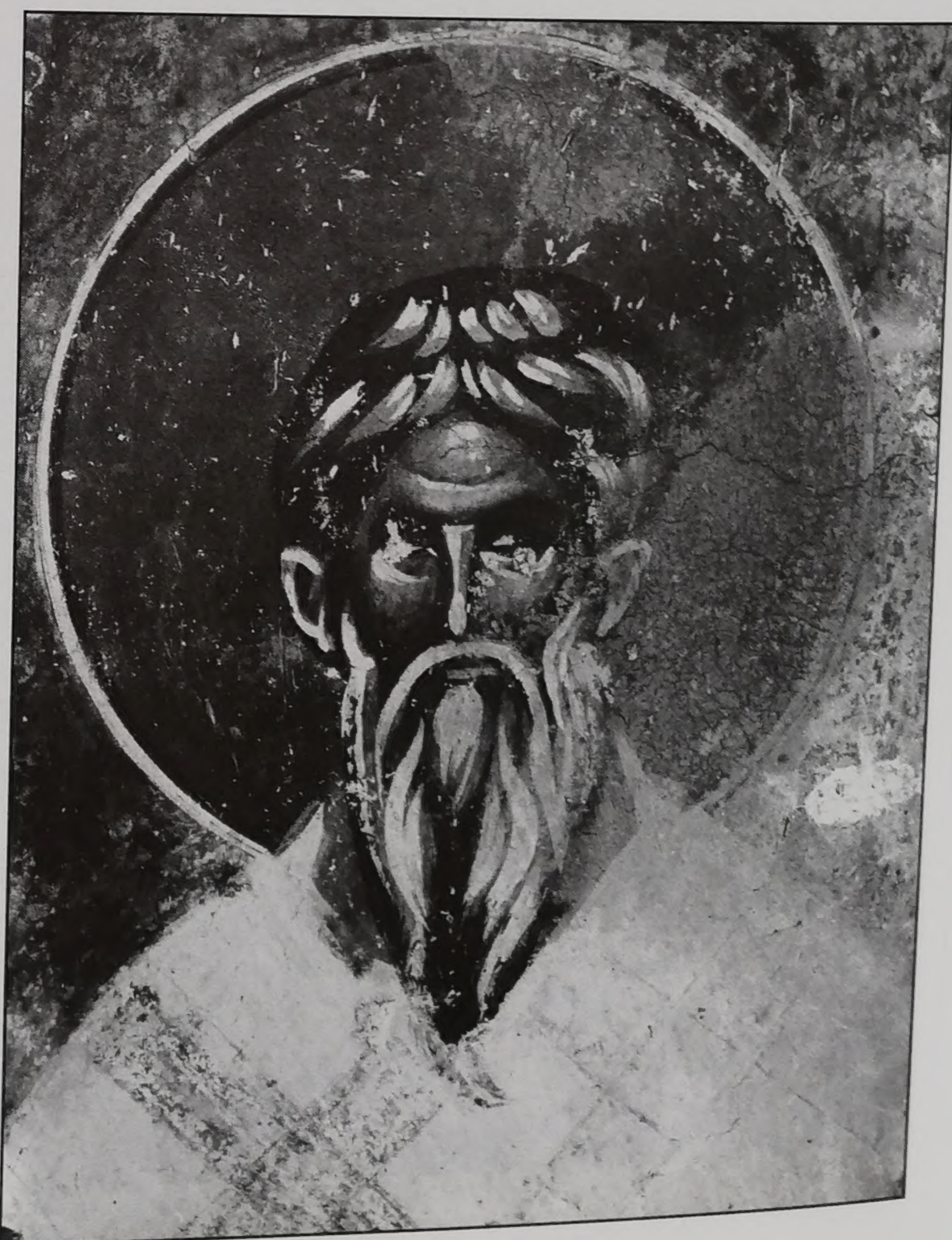
The Works of Other Painters in Serbia

The flourishing of the arts probably drew other artists to king Milutin's state, too. They stayed there for shorter periods of time and their sojourn did not have such an impact as that of Michael and Eutychios although they, too, were engaged in decorating numerous churches and painting the icons housed in them, large-scale undertakings which probably also meant the involvement of local artists. Perhaps incidentally, their names have remained unknown and their works preserved in a much more modest scope. All the remaining frescoes of these painters were created during the last years of king Milutin's reign, at the close of the second decade of the XIV century.

In the oldest preserved endowment of the Serbian aristocracy, the church of the Virgin Hodegetria at Mušutište, raised by the treasurer (great *kaznac*) Jovan Dragoslav, there are only scant remains of the fresco decoration painted between 1315, the year the church was built, and 1320. Several half-figures of bishops in the north-west corner of the church testify that, at that time, the tastes of the aristocracy equalled those of the ruler and the highest ecclesiastical circles. The fact that the wall paintings of Mušutište stand solitary in the Serbian milieu indicates that the great *kaznac* Dragoslav managed to employ truly fine artists who showed an inclination to follow the main trends from around the year 1315. Namely, they produced large figures of emphasised contours which display occasional faults in the rendering of stances or certain details of the hands but are, nevertheless, pleasant in colouration, rather plastic in form and fresh in appearance. On the bishops in the altar, the final strokes of white paint were applied freely on the faces, hair and beards, and in their overall treatment a warm red and crimson were used to stress the ruddiness of the faces. Such a vibrant colouration, visible brush strokes and an astuteness in modelling forms was almost unique in contemporary Serbian art. The saints in the west part of the church are rendered in a somewhat different manner, although even there, on the wings of the angels, we find free brush strokes and a profusion of colour. The shadows on the faces of saints in this part of the church are pale green and light ochre while the gradual transitions from the lighted to the shaded



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Sts. Peter and Paul on the Lim, *Annunciation*, detail: *the Virgin*, 1319–1320



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Mušutište, *Holy bishop*, around 1320



161
Banjska, *Holy bishop*,
1317–1321



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Thessaloniki, Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos, *Angel-deacon*,
1315–1320

patches create uniform and finely formed shapes. At the same time, the cool colours of the faces are pleasantly harmonised with the intensive green and red on the clothes. Although the frescoes of Mušutište have no real counterparts in Serbian art, they do posses something of the freshness and directness displayed by the frescoes of Bogorodica Ljeviška.[47]

The artists who were working on the restoration of the wall paintings in the church of Sts. Peter and Paul on the Lim at about the same time, more precisely between 1319 and 1321, were adherents of different conceptions. They were closer to Michael and Eutychios not only because of the learnedness of their art but also because they adopted, as much as they could, of course, the same approach in the treatment of figures and compositions. Their paintings are reduced in format, the figures are elongated, with small heads, some, like that of the Virgin in the apse, quite beautifully rendered. Some unusual details appear on these frescoes: the Nativity, for example, is envisioned as a broad panoramic scene with freely distributed elements, agitated groups of figures in movement, shepherds shown with their backs turned to the beholder, wise men with oriental head-dresses and figures of various sizes within one composition. The ineptness of the painter in creating compositions which include a multitude of figures is also obvious in the Ascension and Descent into Hades, while the flaws in his drawing appear in other locations in the church, too: on the bulky physiques of the apostles and the massive edifices in the Pentecost, the violent outbursts of grief in the Raising of Lazarus, the non-classical proportions and facial features of Christ, the apostles and the Virgin which are occasionally reminiscent of the poorer of the two painters working in Kraljeva crkva. This artist devoted greatest attention to the treatment of the faces which he painted in the manner of icons, slowly and using coats of pale colours of cool translucence and broad, green shadows. Emulating great examples but with little skill and modest talent, painters of this sort and the art they produced were only a passing phenomenon in Serbian painting of the second decade of the XIV century.[48]

One of the greatest gaps in the artistic heritage of king Milutin's era is certainly related to the loss of the fresco decoration which once stood on the walls of the church of St. Stephen at Banjska, the church which the king had designated as his tomb and the one to which he was most devoted – surely seeing to it that the best builders, stonecutters and painters be secured for its construction and embellishment. The

remains of the church, the refectory and other monastery edifices, only now re-emerging in the light of day, prove that this was truly so. In the words of archbishop Danilo II who says that Banjska was raised "as an image of the holy Virgin of Studenica" we detect the intention of king Milutin to make his funeral church similar to the eternal resting place of the holy founder of the dynasty, not only in form but also in richness and beauty. It is unquestionable that the service of excellent artists was procured for the execution of the wall paintings and, indeed, they decorated with frescoes not only the interior of the church but also the refectory and the monastery entrance. Probably in emulation of the royal mausolea of the king's ancestors, above all Studenica and Sopoćani, these frescoes had a golden background with a grid of fine lines, an imitation of mosaic tesserae, drawn on it. The gold which brightened the interior of the church at Banjska enthralled an unknown writer, probably in the XV century, to such an extent that he claimed that gold such as that of Banjska is not to be found anywhere else. The present remains of the frescoes from this monastery which, together with those in the refectory and the entrance tower, include fragments found in the prothesis, diaconicon and on the intrados of the arch west of the space beneath the dome in the main church, offer enough evidence for us to conclude that sometime between 1317 and 1321 Banjska received a fresco decoration of exceptional quality. Indeed, we shall not be too bold if we claim that no other church of king Milutin's had wall paintings which could equal those of Banjska. Only in the gallery chamber of Gračanica do we notice attempts to imitate the frescoes of Banjska but even there the wall paintings had a yellow instead of a golden background. On the other hand, in those days, medallions filled with half-figures of saints and interconnected by gold and red figure-eight bands remained entirely unique in Serbia and a solution rarely found in Byzantium, too. It was a sign of turning towards much more ancient models and of resurrecting the heritage of antiquity. Several preserved heads of holy bishops in the naos show that they were painted by an artist of considerable drawing skills and an even better feeling for colour. In the early XIV century images of this sort, with fleshy noses, a barely visible green shadow around their contours and white strokes on the prominent parts, and above all with a warm ochre of delicately blended nuances, could only be found in Constantinople, first and foremost in the south church of the St. Mary Pammakaristos, and in the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki. The modest remains of the frescoes in Banjska make it difficult to form categorical conclusions but certainly do inspire thoughts that king Milutin had invited some artists from Constantinople to decorate his main endowment. No matter how close in spirit this warm, balanced and striking painting was to the best works of Michael Astrapas and Eutychios, in Serbia it remained isolated. This goes to prove that, at the beginning of the XIV century, Serbia was truly a meeting point of fine artists, above all those from Thessaloniki and, perhaps, some from Constantinople as well.[49]

The Circle of Painters Around Georgios Kalliergis

Frescoes in Serbia which date from the first decades of the XIV century share a common stylistic expression, owing mostly to the activity of Michael and Eutychios whose work we have followed from the Prizren church of Bogorodica Ljeviška to that of St. Nikita near Skoplje, with all its changes and gradual maturing and its growing academisation of style. Their manner of painting played a decisive role in the formation of Serbian art of the day while some of the painters close to them, perhaps even their associates, actually decorated a series of other churches in Serbia. Only the frescoes which have remained in Sušica, the endowment of an unknown ktetor, and those in Banjska, the funeral church of king Milutin, indicate that at that time there were also other artists at work in the Serbian state, artists with different conceptions who based their work on different models. Although the king's churches and their wall paintings are far from preserved in their entirety, it still seems that those other artists did not play such an influential role in shaping Serbian art, no matter how much they enriched it with their own expression, introducing it to classicist trends which spread from the Bosphorus to the Adriatic and from Serbia to Peloponnesos.

Just how specific a phenomenon, with its own striking path of development, the art of the Serbian state of king Milutin's time is, and in particular that of the last two decades of his rule, is attested also by the art of royal endowments located outside Serbia. Many of the frescoes and icons which the king commissioned for the decoration of celebrated shrines in Constantinople, Thessaloniki, Jerusalem and on Mount Athos, in Treskavac and the region of Kičevo, are not preserved today and the information we have about them is based on textual sources. Although not much has



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Thessaloniki, Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos, *Frescoes in the sanctuary*, 1315–1320

survived in Thessaloniki and Chilandar, it is still enough to testify that in those places royal commissions were executed by artists whose predilections were considerably different from those of Michael and Eutychios.

One of the strong and exceptional personages of the artistic world of Thessaloniki in those times was Georgios Kalliergis. He himself was aware of his outstanding qualities and the words he wrote by his signature in the church of Christ the Saviour in Veria (1315), in which he claims that he is the best painter of all Thessaly, are far from empty self-praise and vain exaggeration. The frescoes he painted in that church and in the church of St. Blaise in the same city, as well as some of the works ascribed to him with less certainty, prove that he was truly one of the greatest masters of the early XIV century who could measure up to the best artists of Constantinople. Just as Michael and Eutychios had left an imprint on the artistic production in Serbia by spreading their influence on their associates, Kalliergis spread his influence on the painters working in Thessaloniki and the environs of that city, in Veria and on Mount Athos. Those who worked with him, in the church of St. Blaise for example, were most like him while others seem only to have come close, imitating his creations and his manner of painting.

The authors of the frescoes in Hagios Nikolaos

Orphanos, Milutin's Thessaloniki church, certainly belonged to the circle of his admirers. They worked there during the second decade of the XIV century, probably during the final years of that decade. Not only did they adopt entire ready-made iconographic solutions from Kalliergis – as in the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, Entry into Jerusalem, Road to Calvary, Lamentation, Descent into Hades, Dormition – but they also attempted to emulate the spirit of his painting and the air of grandeur seen in the Saviour's church in Veria.[50] However, they were only partly successful in their intentions. Their composition is simplified, as is that of Kalliergis, at times symmetrical and with a balanced distribution of figures – as in the Ascension, Crucifixion, Descent into Hades, Descent from the Cross or the Marriage at Cana – but, on the other hand, they also painted large, tightly packed groups of figures with rather undefined characters in the Betrayal of Judas, the miracles of Christ and the cycle of St. Nicholas. On the frescoes of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos the architectural backdrop was given secondary importance. Its reduced forms placed at wide intervals and modelled on the current trends of the second decade of the XIV century did not constitute such a significant element of the composition. Only occasionally they either tower over the figures or become quite low, taking on the appearance of a neutral background, as in the Dormition, Marriage at Cana and some of the other Miracles of Christ. These pictorial elements which played such an important role in the work of Michael and Eutychios and Georgios Kalliergis, as well, were withdrawn to the second plane of the picture and quite simplified. The painters who produced the frescoes in Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos showed greater affinity for depicting landscapes, probably in emulation of other Thessalonikan artists of their time. Georgios Kalliergis created exceptional lanscapes of warm colouration in the church of the Saviour at Veria, just like Michael and Eutychios did in Nagoričino, particularly successfully, and Studenica. The painters of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos did not lag behind at all. Moreover, they devoted even greater care to the rendering of the rolling hills, trees, shrubs and even clumps of grass. On their paintings the landscape was treated as a pictorial element of equal importance as all the others and it even determined the structure of the picture, occasionally bursting into the foreground. Reminiscences of ancient, even Komnenian solutions were now transformed into pictures of a different spirit: Christ passing through the garden and his encounter with the women or conversation with Peter in the Garden of Gethsemane became almost lyrical passages in the dramatic story of Christ's Passion and death, and the raised horizon in the Adoration of the Magi introduced unexpectedly a panoramic scene full of exquisite details. Some of the more freely composed scenes with figures of reduced size (Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, Baptism) and those arranged in a circle (Last Supper, Washing of the Feet, Apostles in the Garden of Gethsemane) are very similar to the late works of Michael and Eutychios, especially those from St. Nikita, but they are far less accomplished. In Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos the disintegration of classicism is reflected in the greatly reduced size of the human figure which often takes on a child-like appearance and disproportionate form. As opposed to Michael, Eutychios and Kalliergis, the authors of these frescoes were not always able to fit a large number of figures into scenes of abridged format while preserving their internal structural unity. It seems that they were best at finding their way around compositions involving a reduced number of figures, such as the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, Crucifixion, Descent from the Cross, Marriage at Cana, Christ and the Samaritan Woman, or individual figures. There, unencumbered by an "excess" of contents, they focused on a careful rendering of images so that the saints in the lowest zone actually resemble icons. Lacking the talent which marked Kalliergis and the strength of expression typical of Michael and Eutychios, they drifted even farther away from early XIV century classicism. Their figures often have long noses and unbecoming profiles, their colouration is simpler with a predominance of yellow and olive and only an occasional flash of violet, red or pure green.

Although the painting in Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos may, at first glance, appear to be quite uniform, a more meticulous observation of the frescoes reveals significant variations which can be ascribed to the different artists working on them. Some of them followed the models upheld by Michael and Eutychios so that their bishops in the altar, the north part of the Communion of the Apostles, some of the Great Feasts, frescoes in the south arm of the ambulatory and calendar scenes do not drift far from classicist forms. The artist who painted the Communion with Wine, Dormition and some of the scenes from the cycle of the Passion lections is somewhat more persuasive, at times depicting even expressive characters. The third painter stands out for his much more polished and easily recognisable characters in the Kiss of Judas, Descent from the Cross, Marriage at Cana and Christ and the Samaritan



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Chilandar, Katholikon,
Sts. Theodosios Koinobites, Arsenios and Anthony, 1320–1321

Woman. He is also ascribed a number of frescoes from the lowest zone of the naos. This painter was closest to Kalliergis, although he did not possess his nobility of form and especially none of the feeling for colour which is so typical of "the best painter of Thessaly". Finally, there is one more group of paintings which can be singled out in the decoration of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos and it was probably produced by the fourth artist. His art is based on small, disproportionate figures and lively compositions packed with picturesque details of all sorts. This makes the Virgin and the angels in the apse, the Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, Akathistos of the Virgin and some of the saints the most interesting frescoes in



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Chilandar, Katholikon, *Prophet Aaron*, detail, 1320–1321



166
Chilandar, Katholikon, *Prophet Moses*, detail, 1320–1321

Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos. At times naive and displaying a childish curiosity, fresh in colour and profusely narrative, this art drifted farthest from the solemn and grand classicist models as a part of a wider phenomenon in Thessalonikan art around 1320. Thus, this rather small church of king Milutin's was decorated by a rather large group of artists, certainly not the leading masters of the second decade of the XIV century in Thessaloniki. Being adherents of different conceptions, modelling their work on that of Kalliergis, as well as on that of other artists, in Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos they reflected, in their own way and to the best of their abilities, the complex picture of Thessalonikan art at the twilight of one of its brilliant periods.[51]

Painters from this circle of artists, apparently including the first and best painter from Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos, were recruited by Chilandar monks to decorate with frescoes the katholikon church of their monastery which king Milutin had raised probably during the first years of the XIV century, in place of the old and narrow one, as it is referred to by archbishop Danilo II in the king's biography. Around 1319 the painters began their work there, bringing this extensive task to a close at the end of 1321. Only an insignificant number of the multitude of wall paintings they created is accessible today, actually only those which have been spared from being covered by a new layer of painting in the course of restoration which took place at the beginning of the XIX century, as well as those which have been freed of these subsequent layers in our time.

Although it is difficult to reach conclusions concerning all the artistic qualities of Chilandar's wall paintings based only on the small number of original frescoes – several scenes and figures behind the iconostasis, frescoes in the south and a part of the decoration of the north parekklesion, figures surrounding the original tomb of Symeon Nemanja, portraits above the entrance to the naos and some of the scenes, or their fragments, in the naos and the narthex – it is still possible to give some assessment.[52] It seems that painters who were especially respected in Thessaloniki, those who followed most consistently the lessons to be learned from the celebrated Georgios Kalliergis, adopting and further developing his manner of painting, were chosen to decorate the katholikon church of this monastery to which king Milutin devoted so much care. Their talent and experience is attested first by the ease with which they arrayed the multitude of themes, often of complex contents, in the vast interior of the Chilandar church. Thus, not only in subject matter but also in artistic merit, this church became a reflection of the taste and wealth of king Milutin and this Serbian monastery on Mount Athos: gold shone from the halos of the saints, parts of their robes, the painted fittings and the architectural backdrops, together with a profusion of costly cinnabar and azure. This glamour was woven into the light and bright images of gentle colouration and beautiful countenances, painted with a soft touch and with great care.

Some of the compositions which did not receive a new layer of paint show that, at the close of the classical period of early Palaiologan art, clear and well organised pictures were still present, with the protagonists positioned in the foreground (Healing of the Woman with a Spirit of Infirmity or the Widow's Mite), the figures arrayed around the conceptual focus of the picture, stressed by painted edifices or trees (scenes of Christ's sermons and Anapeson). However, in Chilandar we also observe the emergence of significant novelties. The Birth of the Virgin is composed in several planes, with the young girls arranged differently in comparison with the contemporary representations of this theme. Not only do they display the rich gifts they bear, they also join the elegant cortege surrounding Anne's bed through their movement, easy turns and glances. The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple is even more solemn: as she approaches the altar, the young Mary is shrouded by a luxurious material which the beautiful girls hold in one hand while bearing a lighted candle in the other. The serene, drawn out procession from Kraljeva crkva in Studenica, which took up the entire foreground of that picture, is now transformed into a scene defined in both width and depth, divided into harmoniously composed groups of figures. Hence, it is less representative but far more picturesque. This approach, in many ways different from that of Studenica and, in a way, displayed also by the frescoes of Gračanica, St. Nikita and Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos, meant a gradual withdrawal from the artistic principles of pure classicism and a much more liberal treatment of composition and space.

The same spirit pervades the rest of the wall paintings of Chilandar. The human figure has become slender, light, of reduced proportions and well drawn. Only some of the apostles and Jews on the frescoes in the south choir have kept the rough facial features. Even the faces of the elders, such as Aaron, Moses, St. Nicodemus, the high priest in the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple and the holy monks, no longer have anything in common with the broad and even severe countenances they once had in the Protaton or Ljeviška. An emphasised expression of spiritual

strength and religious fanaticism has given way to a calm intentness with eyes fixed either on the inner self or something distant and undefined. The atmosphere of loud speech, sweeping gestures and imposing addresses has withdrawn in Chilandar before subdued movement, silent glances, gentle nods of the head and noble stances. The picture has been humanised to the utmost limits of Byzantine art norms, it has taken on a festive, solemn and aristocratic appearance, at times even decorative. Strong, dramatic effects have been avoided even in the tense Purification of the Temple, everything is carefully arranged and subordinated to the sheer beauty of painting. In the katholikon of Chilandar the painters left imprints of their personal styles most clearly on representations of young characters which appear both within the various compositions and as individual figures of saints. The women in the Birth of the Virgin and especially those in the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple are almost girl-like, with soft, regular facial features, curling braids and ribbons and scarves on their heads which rest upon long necks. They are dressed in robes made of luxurious materials with golden ornaments. Sts. Panteleimon, Stephen and the holy warriors, Procopios in particular, look more like boys then grown men, in both stature and image. Their movements as well as their physiognomies are slightly feminine. The inclination to show physical beauty, the beauty of attire and weapons and to make the young saints even more youthful was a widespread feature of Thessalonikan art around 1320 and in the following period. This is attested by some of the frescoes of Michael and Eutychios – the holy warriors from Nagoričino and the women from Gračanica, individual and figures within compositions in St. Nikita; those of Georgios Kalliergis – Sts. George and Demetrios in the church of the Saviour in Veria; and numerous wall paintings of the unknown artists who worked in Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos. This trend is best embodied in the Chilandar church, on its frescoes populated by figures reduced in size, decked with arms, dressed in beautiful clothes and taking on a gentle and emotional mien and ceremonial stances. Brought down from the sphere of the distant and the abstract and freed of strict classicist norms, while approaching the ordinary man as close as possible in dimensions, curiosity for details and beauty which emanates from the figures and the faces, these Chilandar frescoes have given us some exceptionally accomplished portraits of contemporary personages painted around Nemanja's tomb and on the east wall of the narthex. The portraits of king Milutin and emperor Andronikos II, of noble proportions and painted in soft strokes, certainly number among the most beautiful frescoes in Chilandar and can unquestionably be added to the list of late medieval portrait masterpieces.

The general air of beauty, freshness and intimacy characteristic of the Chilandar frescoes is very much enhanced by a wide choice of colours and a profusion of cinnabar and gold. The brightened blends of violet, green, yellow and deep blue give these paintings a translucent, gentle, almost pastel appearance. An abundance of ornaments and reflections of light on the clothes are harmonised with the light blue background and the illuminated architectural backdrop. The beautiful faces painted in the manner of icons, with fine shadows and a rosy blush on the cheeks and foreheads, are radiant because of the warm, deep colours used for rendering flesh. At times this warm colouration becomes even softer, as in the Birth and Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple and the portraits, and at others it blends almost exclusively into olive and pale green tones, as in the Baptism of Christ, or becomes darkened with broad chestnut and deep green shadows, as on the figures of St. Mercurios or the holy monks, with shimmering reddish and white accents emerging to the surface. These variations did not disrupt the uniformity of the painted decoration of Chilandar's katholikon as a whole. They only suggested the presence of a group of different artists which included both those who came very close to the style and creations of Kalliergis (as on the holy warriors and monks, for example) and those who remained closer to the unknown painters who decorated the church of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos (some of Christ's Miracles and Sermons can be ascribed to them). These assessments remain to be confirmed after the frescoes are cleaned up but even now it is already clear that the artists who were employed in the decoration of this church were very capable, of uniform expression and similar abilities, and that they number among the best Thessaloniki had to offer in the first decades of the XIV century.[53]

The emergence of such frescoes in Chilandar is by no means accidental. From the moment this monastery was restored in the last years of the XII century and inhabited by Serbian monks, it became an important centre not only in a spiritual but also in a cultural sense. At its head stood learned hegoumenoi and "elders" and, as a result of the generous sustenance it received from Serbian kings, first-class Byzantine works of art began to flow into Chilandar and influence tastes of the men who stood at its head, as well as their concepts and opinions on artistic values. With the arrival



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Chilandar, Katholikon, *Birth of the Virgin*, detail, 1320–1321

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Chilandar, Refectory, *Hospitality of Abraham* (left part), around 1320



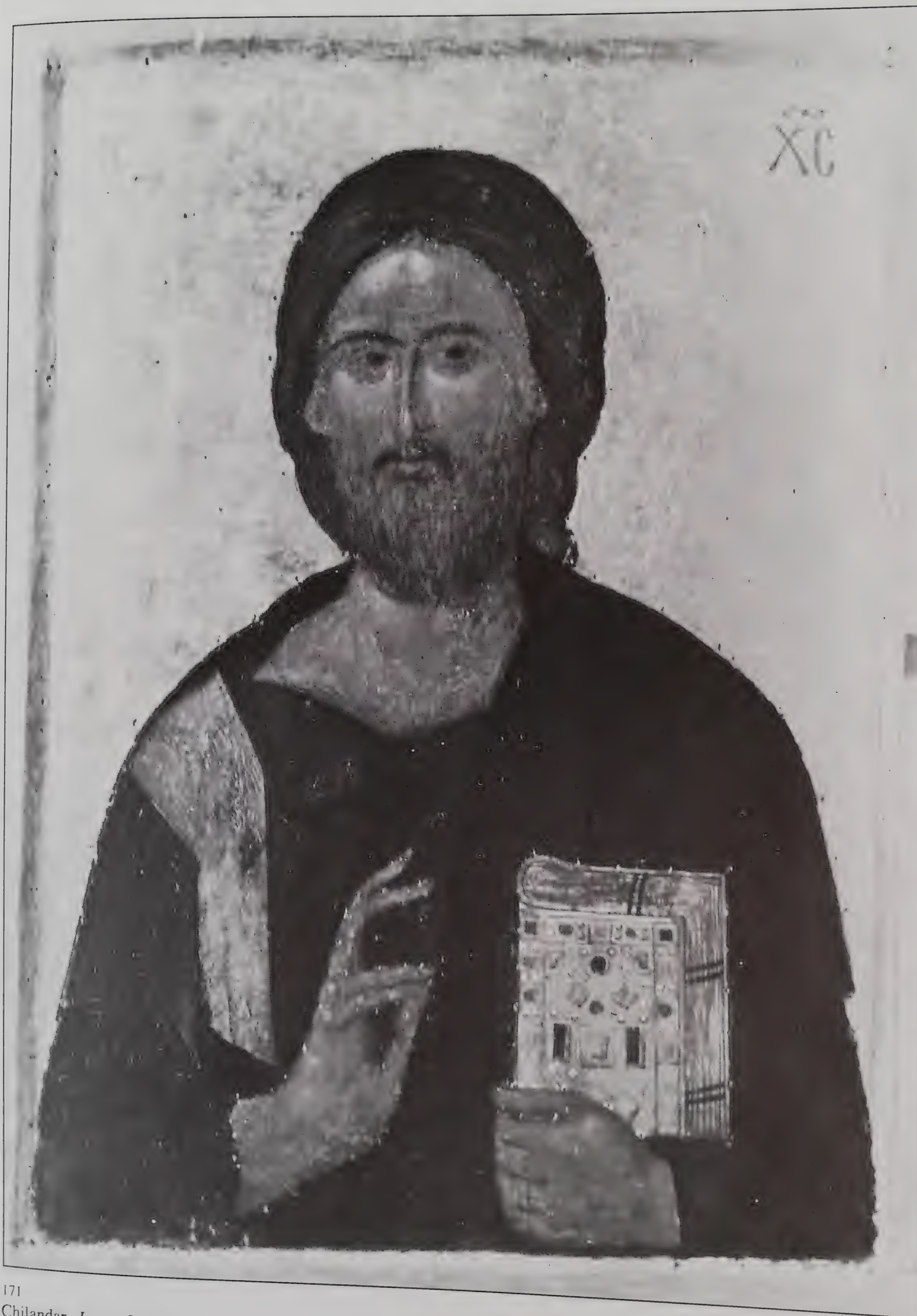
169
Chilandar, Katholikon, *Holy warriors*, 1320–1321

170
Chilandar, Church of the Annunciation, *Holy bishop*, around 1320

of these Chilandar men in Serbia and their rising to key positions in ecclesiastical hierarchy, that spirit and that taste in art were transferred to their fatherland. Around the year 1300, owing to the activities of king Milutin, ties between Chilandar and Serbia became especially strong and Chilandar became an important intermediary in the relations between the Serbian and the Byzantine court. Even before he forged close familial relations with the imperial family, king Milutin had already renovated the grand katholikon of Chilandar, probably the most beautiful congregational church on Mount Athos. Unknown ktetors (and the Serbian king was apparently the most active among them) acquired precious icons and other works of art for the monastery, probably from Constantinople, Thessaloniki and Venice. As a result of the king's dedication this monastery was enlarged and embellished. A refectory and a funerary chapel (dedicated to the Annunciation) were raised in the monastery and decorated with frescoes and a pyrgos was constructed in its vicinity, at Hrusija, including a church and some other structures. Although not everything has survived to this day, what we do have is still enough to confirm that only fine artists – builders, stonecutters and painters – were engaged to work in the monastery and that only the most beautiful icons were acquired for it. During the period of Milutin's rule and under his patronage, not a single art work of poor quality was either commissioned for or created in Chilandar – a fact which, in its own right, speaks of the personal tastes of the ktetor and the learned hegoumenoi of this monastery such as Sava, Danilo, Nikodim and Gervasije.

Only a few of the frescoes which once adorned the refectory remain today on the triangular gable of the north wall, above the apse. These paintings date from about the same time as the frescoes in the main monastery church, that is from the second decade of the XIV century, or rather, from the last years of this decade. The three remaining compositions are all related to the righteous Abraham: the Welcoming of the Three Angels, Hospitality of Abraham and Sacrifice of Isaac. Although they are contemporary to the frescoes in the katholikon, they are not the work of the same artists. Moreover, they look different and are certainly not of the same quality although, on the other hand, both the refectory and the katholikon frescoes belong to the same circle of Byzantine art from around 1320. In the refectory, compositional concepts, proportions of figures, their countenances and colouration share the spirit of contemporary art but, all in all, the particular handwriting of the artist precludes the drawing of any other, closer analogies. These frescoes display an especially developed space which houses the depicted events. An identical landscape, painted in ochre and violet and ending in high cliffs, appears in two scenes (Welcoming of the Angels and Abraham's Sacrifice) while a semicircular wall with solitary towers connected by hanging vellums rises tall and completely envelops the figures. The descriptive drawing sometimes produces unclassical faces such as those of the angels with rounded cheeks or the bony guises of Abraham and Sarah. It becomes more pronounced on the draperies and occasionally results in an obvious mistake. A certain simplification of the human figure, a disregard for classical beauty and the broad, bulky landscapes and architectural forms are only underlined by a colouration lacking in refined blending. Diluted nuances of ochre, green and violet, with rare incursions of blue and red, dominate the paintings. The frescoes in the refectory of Chilandar represent works of art of sound quality and with no major faults but they lack in emotions and freshness and it appears that the simplification of forms and their subjection to the principles of academism, together with the cooling and reduction of the colour spectrum, is a mature announcement of the gradual dwindling of the great art of the second decade of the XIV century.[54]

There is one other group of frescoes in Chilandar, in the funerary chapel now dedicated to the Annunciation, which was probably painted at about the same time. These wall paintings are badly damaged, with only a few better preserved images or scenes around the iconostasis and in the altar space. At first glance they appear to be slightly earlier in date than the frescoes in the refectory, perhaps because of their poorer artistic quality and a stronger adherence to tradition. A closer study, however, shows that they possess qualities which could move the date of their creation closer to 1320.[55] It would be safe to say that their authors came from Thessaloniki, a city which, during the first decades of the XIV century, was the home of many groups of painters who worked not only there but also in the neighbouring cities and lands, such as Veria, Ohrid, Mount Athos and Serbia. The artists who worked in the Annunciation church, and it seems that there were two of them, numbered among those who followed the examples of the leading artists of their home town. Being less gifted, however, they did not manage to leave behind a personal, recognisable style nor were they consistent in emulating just one particular renowned painter. That is why their frescoes are sometimes reminiscent of Kalliergis (more precisely, of his follow-



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Chilandar, *Icon of Christ*, beginning of the XIV century

ers who worked in Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos), as attested by the elongated and curved noses of some saints or the small, oval faces of some other figures (the Virgin in the Ascension and the Annunciation, the angels, St. Demetrios). On the other hand, the bishops in the prothesis are closer to the wall paintings of St. Nikita near Skoplje. These painters were not particularly skilled, at times their drawing is faulty (St. Cyril of Alexandria), with thick contours (the figures of Sts. John Chrysostomos and Basil the Great) and much too dependent on the effects of linearism. It becomes more solid when they copy models offered by artists better than themselves so that the figures of St. James the Brother of the Lord in the prothesis conch and St. Demetrios by the iconostasis, or the Ascension painted on the vault of the sanctuary, represent their more accomplished works. Educated on the experiences of classicist art, the painters of the Annunciation church adhered to standard compositional formulas, well balanced and regular facial features and figures of slightly elongated proportions. On their part, to this manner of painting they introduced rather strictly delineated, firm shapes and meticulously rendered details. Their art was based on cool colour tones, broad olive shadows and an abundance of white and pale pink, as well as on a consistent avoidance of strong contrasts. That is why these frescoes are, in fact, good examples of successfully implemented academism in Byzantine art from around the year 1320.

Icons at Chilandar

The generosity of king Milutin towards Chilandar was not limited to the renovation and construction of "palaces" and churches and a refectory within this monastery, nor only to their decoration with frescoes. His gifts surely included numerous icons and liturgical objects, commissioned or acquired from the best masters with the gold that he "gave out open-handedly".[56] Several of the icons preserved in the monastery today number among the most beautiful examples of Byzantine icon painting of the early XIV century, produced in the workshops of unknown artists from Thessaloniki or Constantinople.

The small icon of St. Panteleimon, rendered in half-figure, was created not long after 1300. It displays classicist forms, a precise drawing and warm brown and dark green tones with accents of red. The solid volume of the face, enhanced by deep shadows on the cheeks, the neck and around the eyes, is finished off in parallel strokes of white. It shows that the painter of this icon was an adherent of the great art of the XIII century as well as a man of his own era which he demonstrated by amalgamating successfully the experiences of the two different classicisms – combining monumentality and a strict choice of colours with a noble drawing typical of the best artists of the early XIV century.[57]

The artist who, at around the same time, created the icons of Christ and the Virgin Eleoussa, both in half-figure and probably designated for the iconostasis, is different and even better. These icons are much softer in execution, richer in colour and supplied with a fine, unobtrusive drawing. Gentle, light blends of violet, pink and green give them a quality of translucence and exceptional softness. The flesh of the faces and the hands is painted equally beautifully, with gentle transitions from an olive green to a warm ochre, brush strokes invisible, in the manner of contemporary Constantinopolitan artists. The noble bearing of the figures and the impeccable drawing subordinated entirely to the effects of the successfully coordinated colours are the qualities which put these icons on the list of the most beautiful creations of early XIV century Byzantine classicism.[58]

At that very time one other artist was painting for Chilandar the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, an icon commissioned especially for this monastery – as attested by an inscription written on it in Serbian. Being of elongated format – this representation of Chilandar's feast day was probably designated to adorn either the iconostasis or some other proskenitarion in the katholikon – it is organised in a manner which places the procession, consisting of the Virgin as a young girl, Joachim and Anne, the maidens and the high priest in front of the Temple, in the lower half of the painting while the entire upper half is filled with an architectural backdrop including a building, a ciborium and a high staircase with Mary and an angel at its top. All this gives the picture an unusual, light air, a loose structure. The colonettes of the ciborium are elongated and slender, with gilded capitals, and the architectural backdrop is dotted with garlands, windows and embossed ornaments as well as a curtain tied in a knot and a vellum with free falling ends arranged in long folds. Most of the attention, however, is focused on the figures in the lower register. They are painted with such grace and meticulousness that they are truly practically unrivalled in their time. What makes this icon exceptional is, above all, the rendering of the maidens in the Virgin's entourage. They are knowingly arranged within the depicted pictorial space, their heads gently inclined. In one hand they bear candles while shielding the flames from the wind with the other in the most graceful manner.



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Chilandar, *Icon of the Virgin Eleoussa*, beginning of the XIV century

What's more, their rich curls falling freely to their shoulders are covered by transparent veils trimmed with gold around the edges. Such a recording of elegant details, not without an intentionally realistic approach, is also evident in some of the other fine examples of this theme in Palaiologan art – in the Protaton, Studenica or the katholikon of Chilandar, for example – but this icon from Chilandar is certainly the most beautiful of them all. Its author, a brilliantly gifted artist, displays a sophisticated feeling for warm, saturated colours. He masterfully co-ordinates the red, which he weaves through his painting starting from the vellum to the undergarment of the High Priest, the green on the left and the blue on the right hand side of the composition with the gold which he uses to emphasise the preciousness and beauty of the ornaments. Such colour harmonies, actuated in a series of free strokes, and his exceptional drawing skills single out the artist who painted this Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple as one of the greatest representatives of Byzantine art of the XIV century. This icon was probably commissioned from a workshop outside the monastery because there is nothing similar to it in Chilandar. Since, at this moment, it is impossible to find any corresponding works, either in style or the manner of painting, both the author of the icon and the place of its origin remain unknown.[59]

On the other hand, it is certain that the quite damaged icon of an angel in monastic habit, now in the treasury of the monastery, is the work of one of the artists who painted the frescoes in the katholikon. His lovely pale pink face, painted over a dark green base, is very similar to the faces of the saints in the church. It is obvious that, at some time around the year 1320, the artists working in Chilandar brought their extensive activities in this monastery to a finish and, apart from the frescoes, completed the production of all the necessary icons of which only one remains today and even this single remaining object is very badly damaged.[60]

We shall probably never know the full scope of king Milutin's donations to Chilandar or what exactly this monastery acquired with his assistance. Along with a number of other objects of art which reached Chilandar in his time, there is a special diptych, richly adorned with pearls, semiprecious stones, gilded filigree and miniatures painted on parchment, which has survived to this day. These images represent twenty something scenes from the life of Christ in a mixture of Byzantine and western iconography and with a conspicuous presence of the Gothic style. It is, therefore, reasonable to suspect that this diptych was produced around the year 1300 in some Venetian workshop. As an atypical im-



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Chilandar, *Icon of an angel*, detail, around 1320



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Chilandar, *Diptych*, right wing, end of the XIII century

port, it remained isolated in the treasury of Chilandar and practically without any bearing on the overall image of the art of king Milutin's era.[61]

The forty years of king Milutin's reign, from 1282 to 1321, represent one of the most interesting and most prolific periods in the history of Serbian art. A fair number of the dozens of churches raised during that time has survived to this day along with the pertaining wall paintings and, in the case of Chilandar, a considerable number of icons, as well. As a result of favourable circumstances, the long reign of this sovereign coincided with an epoch in which the principles of artistic creation and style were clearly defined. Although it is not our intention to make crude comparisons between cultural and political phenomena, or to associate directly one with the other, it is nevertheless quite obvious that during the first decades of king Milutin's reign – marked by wars, a southward and northward expansion of his state, the parallel functioning of two courts and an insufficiently clear political and cultural policy – there were scarcely any remarkable artistic creations. Except for the isolated example of Arilje, or works of smaller scope in some of the bishopric sees (Petrova crkva, perhaps) and monasteries founded by his celebrated ancestors (Djurdjevi Stupovi), there were no large-scale architectural projects nor any endeavours of such scope in the field of painting. At the same time, local workshops, of which we are informed only from the writings of archbishop Danilo, were engaged in the production of objects of the applied arts. Rare and modest commissions did not draw any of the more prominent artists to Serbia nor, it seems, were they particularly sought after in that milieu. Nevertheless, a certain measure of good taste was maintained so that the frescoes produced by some of the artists engaged in the decoration of Petrova crkva, Arilje and, in particular, Djurdjevi Stupovi are, incontestably, not entirely stripped of certain or even rather high qualities. All this, together with the fact that ties with Byzantium were severed which resulted, at first, in open war and, subsequently, in a prolonged state of tension between the two parties, urged Serbian art, painting included, to hang on to mid-thirteenth century traditions for a long time. On the other hand, this is precisely the factor which secured its continuity and a rather high standard of artistic creation. Being attached to the achievements of the previous era, the art produced in Serbia at the close of the XIII century was spared from falling into provincialism. At the same time, however, those ties were also a setback slowing down its immersion in the great commotions stirring the leading art centres of the Orthodox world. The changes which took place in Serbian art around the year 1300 seem to have been related to the peace king Milutin forged with emperor Andronikos II and his subsequent marriage with a member of the imperial family. Also, the armed conflict with his brother Dragutin tied Milutin strongly to the Church which initiated an unprecedented wave of activity in the field of painting and architecture. Learned Chilandarites assumed key positions in Serbian ecclesiastical hierarchy and supervised the artistic production in the realm. The king himself, in the words of Danilo II, strove to invest himself with all the virtues of an Orthodox ruler and, in doing so, to outdo the neighbouring emperors so that his generous open-handedness reached as far as Thessaloniki, Mount Athos, Constantinople and Jerusalem. Such intentions on his part, carefully guided by a number of royal consultants among whom we find learned bishops and archbishops – all former Chilandar monks, could be realised only by procuring the services of fine artists as well as expensive and most refined works of art which did not lag behind those from Constantinople and Thessaloniki.

Indeed, in the years around 1300, artists imbued with the new spirit, masters who were well acquainted with some of the best works of contemporary Byzantine painting, began arriving and working in Serbia, staying there for a number of years. The frescoes of Peć, Žiča and Bogorodica Ljeviška are, chronologically speaking, just a step behind such magnificent creations of the transitional period as the Protaton on Mount Athos, the Virgin Peribleptos in Ohrid or St. Euthymios in Thessaloniki. It seemed that Thessaloniki, the city second in rank in the Empire and the one which welcomed Constantinopolitan artists engaged to decorate with mosaics her church of the Holy Apostles and, perhaps, produce some other works of art, the city whose finest painters, like Georgios Kalliergis, were summoned to work in Constantinople itself, was the centre from which this new generation of artists reached Serbia. This city reared the painters who were to ennoble Serbian art and assimilate it to the leading currents of the most prominent Byzantine art centres. Thessaloniki is unquestionably the city of origin of Michael Astrapas and his faithful associate Eutychios. It is also the home of a number of other artists, whose names we do not know, who worked with those two or on their own. In Serbia, they were probably joined by some of the local painters who adopted the lessons to be learned from their work and their manner of painting for there were many churches, often of spacious interiors, which had to be decorated and supplied with icons in the course of the next twen-



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Staro Nagoričino, *Menologion*, detail: *St. John Calybites and the Liberation of St. Peter from the Dungeon*, 1315–1317

ty years. Fortunately, much of what they produced has been preserved and their frescoes show that they were not only prolific but also exceptionally vital and capable painters. It seems that the period of adaptation and their transitional art lasted only a short while. Michael and Eutychios, in Prizren, and their contemporaries, in Peć and Žiča, were quick to abandon monumental forms and colour contrasts dominated by strong and warm tones. In Nagoričino, and especially in Kraljeva crkva and Gračanica, their compositions made up of numerous figures of reduced size became serene, classicist, their drawing all polished up, appealing and cleansed of its previous occasional outbursts of expressionism, their colours more uniform while appropriating a cooler sheen and their citations from Hellenistic art more successfully interwoven into the overall structure of the picture. Obviously, Michael Astrapas and his associates followed closely the development of metropolitan art. At about the same time and in an almost identical manner, a number of anonymous artists were working on the decoration of two Constantinopolitan churches, St. Mary Pammakaristos and Christ of the Chora, while Georgios Kalliergis was painting in Veria and a group of unknown artists were working in the Holy Apostles and the church of St. Catherine in Thessaloniki. Just how able Michael and Eutychios, and the rest of the painters working in Serbia, were to match the finest Byzantine artists is indicated by the transformations in their art – starting with the Peribleptos in Ohrid all the way to St. Nikita near Skoplje that is, by the gradual and natural development of their style which followed closely the different phases, from the formative to the mature and, finally, that of academism, in the development of contemporary Constantinopolitan and Thessalonikan art. At each stage of their development, in 1294/95 in Ohrid, around 1310 in Ljeviška, between 1315 and 1320 in Nagoričino, Studenica and Gračanica and, finally, shortly after, in St. Nikita, they created masterpieces, in some churches more and less in others, thus rivalling the creations of their finest contemporaries from Constantinople and Thessaloniki.

It seems that in those days Thessaloniki was an especially lively centre of artistic production. This phenomenon can be studied quite successfully based on a number of preserved works in the city and its environs. During the second decade of the XIV century, Georgios Kalliergis, whose signed frescoes have been preserved in Veria, was a prominent figure in the artistic circles of Thessaloniki and it is, therefore, not surprising that a considerable number of other painters from that city strove to imitate his style. What's more, the appearance of some of the wall paintings in Gračanica and St. Nikita show that, in their late works, Michael and Eutychios approached his manner of painting. Judging by the contents of a contract from Chilandar monastery, referring to the purchase of a number of houses in Thessaloniki, in which the name Kalliergis appears among the witnesses, the Serbs seem to have had direct contact with this celebrated artist. Perhaps it was he himself, and certainly some of his close associates, who decorated with frescoes king Milutin's endowments in Thessaloniki and on Mount Athos. Kalliergis's classicist, bright and harmonious style, as we see it in the church of Christ the Saviour in Veria (1314/15), was transferred a couple of years later to the walls of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos and Chilandar, its katholikon in particular.

In the years around 1320, the anonymous artists working in Chilandar and Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos, as well as Michael and Eutychios who, at that time, were working in the church of St. Nikita, each in his own way and with different results, attained a similar stylistic expression. Their paintings of well structured compositions, simple iconography, figures reduced in size, bright and soft colours and a decorative air, marked the close of one of the great epochs of ancient Serbian art. The end of this era coincides with the death of king Milutin, its chief initiator and patron. In the years following 1321 Serbian art took a different course, diverging into a multitude of different currents and drifting farther and farther away from the source established in the age of king Milutin.

[1] In the past decades several fine studies on the subject of late XIII century Byzantine book illumination have been published: K. Weitzmann, *Eine Pariser-psalter – Kopie des 13. Jh. auf dem Sinaï*, JÖBG 6 (1957), 125–143; Lazarev, *Storia*, 280 et passim; Belting, *Das illuminierte Buch*; H. Buchtal, *Notes on Some Early Palaeologan Miniatures*, Kunsthistorische Forschungen Otto Pächt, Salzburg 1972, 36–43; id., *Illuminations from an Early Palaeologan Scriptorium*, JÖB 21 (1972), 47–55; Buchtal, *Toward a History*; Chatzidakis, *Classicisme*, 181–182; Σ. Παπαδάκη-Oekland, *Οι μικρογραφίες ενός χαμένου χειρογράφου του 1298*, ΔΧΑΕ 4/8 (1976), 29–50.

[2] Lazarev, *Storia*, 281–284, fig. 395–402; J. Spatharakis, *Corpus of Dated Illuminated Greek Manuscripts to the Year 1453*, Leiden 1981, I, 50–53; II, figs. 343, 345, 357, 359; Σ. Παπαδάκη-Oekland, *Οι μικρογραφίες ενός χαμένου χειρογράφου του 1298*, πίν. 19–37; R. S. Nelson, *Paris. gr. 117 and the Beginnings of Palaeologan Illumination*, Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte 37 (1984), 1–21.

[3] Lazarev, *Storia*, 278; H. Buchtal, *Toward a History*, 145; R. S. Nelson, *Theodore Hagiopetrites. A Late Byzantine Scribe and Illuminator*, Wien 1991.

[4] The Ohrid frescoes have been studied only partly (C. Grozdanov, *Studii za ohridskiot živopis*, Skopje 1990, 84–101), so that their place in the course of development of Palaiologan art has not yet been explained clearly enough. For now, the best works on the subject are those by Radojčić, *Majstori*, 19–36; Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, passim; Hamann-Mac Lean – Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei*, 160–181; Hallensleben, *Die Malerschule*, 51–54; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 23–25; Hamann-Mac Lean, *Grundlegung*, passim; Chatzidakis, *Classicisme*, 101–103.

[5] On these, so far insufficiently investigated and only partly published frescoes from Mount Athos, probably of Thessalonikan origin, cf. Millet, *Athos*, pl. 5–56; A. Xyngopoulos, *Manuel Panselinos*, Athens 1956; id., *Nouveaux témoignages de l'activité des peintres macédoniennes au Mont Athos*, BZ 52/1 (1959), 62–64, Taf. IX; B. Todić, *Prôtaton et la peinture serbe des premières décennies du XIVe siècle*, L'art de Thessalonique, 21–31; Djurić, *La peinture byzantine vers 1300*, 69–70.

[6] Lazarev, *Storia*, 282, fig. 406; V. J. Djurić, *Icônes de Yougoslavie*, Belgrade 1961, pl. IX; M. Chatzidakis, *Une icône en mosaïque de Lavra*, JÖB 21 (1972), 73–81; *The Kariye Djami*, IV, 145–146; *Ikone*, Beograd 1983, 168–169; Σ. Παπαδάκη-Oekland, *Οι μικρογραφίες ενός χαμένου χειρογράφου του 1298*, πίν. 35; Djurić, *La peinture byzantine vers 1300*, 69.

[7] Γ. – Μ. Σωτηρίου, *Η βασιλική του Αγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης*, Αθήνα 1952, 213–219; Th. Gouma-Peterson, *The Parecclesion of St. Euthimios in Thessaloniki. Art and Monastic Policy under Andronikos II*, The Art Bulletin LVIII/2 (1976), 168–183; Gouma-Peterson, *The Frescoes*, 111–129.

[8] For basic information on Byzantine and Serbian wall painting of the second half of the XIII century cf. Lazarev, *Storia*, 297–304; Djurić, *La peinture murale serbe au XIIIe siècle*, 145–167; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 70–77; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 59–64; Todić, *Srpske freske*, 67–88.

[9] Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, I, pl. 30/1; II, pl. 71/3, 73, 74, 76/1, 77, 78, 83; T. Velmans, *La rôle du décor architectural et la répresentation de l'espace dans la peinture des Paléologues*, CA XIV (1964), 205; Djurić, *Istorijske kompozicije (II)*, 133; Todić, *Arilje*, 29–33; Todić, *Srpske freske*, 77–79.

[10] Cf. Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 73; Tatić-Djurić, *Ikona apostola Petra i Pavla*, 11–16; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 59–62; Todić, *Arilje*, 35–37; *Ikone*, 139 (G. Babić) and the plate on page 156; Todić, *Srpske freske*, 80–82.

[11] The portraits from Arilje are best presented by Radojčić, *Portreti*, 31–34; about them also S. Petković, *Arilje*, Belgrad 1965, pp. III–IV; Todić, *Arilje*, 36–37. The portraits of the ktetors and their relatives in Dragutin's chapel are very badly preserved so that there isn't much to be said about their artistic qualities; as much as it was possible, they were appraised by Radojčić, *Portreti*, 27–28; Djurić, *Istorijske kompozicije (II)*, 131–137; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 60; Todić, *Srpske freske*, 83. The images of Dragutin and Milutin on the Vatican icon are quite schematic, *Ikone*, 139.

[12] Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 72–73, 78; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 59–62; Todić, *Arilje*, 27–37; Todić, *Srpske freske*, 82–85.

[13] The paintings of the third layer in Petrova crkva have not been studied in an adequate measure, and their artistic qualities are thus insufficiently investigated; presently, the best works on the subject are those by Ćorović-Ljubinković, *Živopis Svetoga Petra*, 47–49 (considers it to be the work of local artists); Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 59 (sees in it the influence of Sopoćani, more precisely of the narthex and the parekklesion of St. Symeon the Serbian, and associates it with Dragutin's chapel and Arilje); cf. also Mihailović, *Crkva Svetog Petra*, 96; Todić, *Srpske freske*, 87 et passim.

[14] The author of the frescoes in Dragutin's chapel was mostly the subject of interest of V. J. Djurić, who determined his Greek origins and his dependence on the frescoes of the Sopoćani parekklesia: Djurić, *La peinture murale serbe au XIIIe siècle*, 156; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 60; Djurić, *La peinture murale byzantine*, 240; cf. also Todić, *Srpske freske*, 87.

[15] None of the authors who wrote about the icon so far excluded the possibility that it was created in Serbia and they usually compared it to Arilje: Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 78; Tatić-Djurić, *Ikona apostola Petra i Pavla*, 11–16, it has also been associated with Kotor: *Istorija Crne Gore*, II/1, 269–270 (P. Mijović); P. Mijović, *Umjetničko blago Crne Gore*, Beograd – Titograd 1980, 151–152; *Ikone*, 139 (G. Babić).

[16] All the authors who wrote about the frescoes of Arilje noted the variations in its quality and ascribed them to painters of differing abilities; in greater detail on this subject, drawing attention to the observations of previous researchers, Todić, *Arilje*, 37–38 and Todić, *Srpske freske*, 77–78, 81–82, 83, 84–85.

[17] Demus, *Die Entstehung*, 1–63; Lazarev, *Storia*, 300–304; Radojčić, *Uzori i dela*, 125–153; Djurić, *La peinture murale byzantine*, 196–246; Djurić, *La peinture byzantine vers 1300*, 68–78. The Thessalonikan origins of the painters who worked in Arilje has been determined in a curious manner: in the window

opening on the north side of the west bay they wrote the word ΜΑΡΠΟΥ, the cry of Thessalonikan supporters of emperor Michael VIII from 1258, the time before he entered Constantinople (on this subject A. Andreeva, *Očerki po kul'ture vizantijskogo dvora v XIII veke*, Praga 1927, 156, and on its significance for the determination of the origins of the painters from Arilje S. Radojčić, *Natpis ΜΑΡΠΟΥ na ariljskim freskama*, Glas SAN CCXXXIV, 7, 1959, 40–45); written almost forty years later, this inscription, according to V. J. Djurić (*Byzantinische Fresken*, 62), reveals the elderly years of the painters.

18 As opposed to that from the beginning of the XIV century, Thessalonikan painting from the close of the XIII century is less well known, probably because frescoes from this period have not been preserved in the city. On Thessaloniki as an artistic centre around the year 1300 cf. Xyngopoulos, *Thessalonique*, 1–4, 26–33; Mouriki, *Stylistic Trends*, 58–70; Tsitouridou, *La peinture monumentale à Salonique*, 9–19; M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, *Greek Art. Wall-Paintings*, Athens 1994, 25–29; R. S. Nelson, *Theodore Hagiopetrites*, 116–128.

19 Ties between Arilje and these churches have alsready been noted, cf. Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 258 (note 46); Todić, *Arilje*, 39–41; Todić, *Srpske freske*, 86–87, and quite specific similarities have been pointed out: A. Ορλάνδος, *Η Παρηγορήτησσα της Άρτης*, Αθήνα 1963, πίν. 22, 30; A. Βασιλάκη-Καρακατσάνη, *Οι τοιχογραφίες της Όμορφης Εκκλησιάς στην Αθήνα*, Αθήνα 1971, πίν. 39–42; Djurić, *La peinture murale byzantine*, 222–223, fig. 29.

20 These similarities have also been pointed out in existing bibliography: Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 60 and Todić, *Srpske freske*, 87; for comparisons between the frescoes of Mistra and Constantinople and those from Dragutin's chapel cf. G. Millet, *Monuments byzantins de Mistra*, Paris 1910, pl. 73/3, 74/2, 3 and R. Naumann – H. Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche am Hippodrom zu Istanbul und ihre Fresken*, Berlin 1966, Taf. 24–33 and a colour plate between pp. 132 and 133.

21 Cf. Djurić, *L'art des Paléologues et l'Etat serbe*, 179–191.

22 Cf. notes 4–5 and 7.

23 The few scholars who studied these frescoes from Peć noticed the novelties which they introduced on the level of artistic quality and those novelties were mostly the subject of their interest: Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 74–75; Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 227–228; R. Ljubinković, *Crkva Svetih apostola u Pećkoj patrijaršiji*, Beograd 1973, pp. XVI–XVIII; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 67–68; Radojčić, *Uzori i dela*, 137–138; Djurić, *Pećka patrijaršija*, 126–130; Djurić, *La peinture byzantine vers 1300*, 70. Best reproductions of the frescoes in Petković, *La peinture serbe*, II, pl. LXXXII–LXXXV; R. Ljubinković, op. cit., figs. 38–59 and Djurić, *Pećka patrijaršija*, figs. 70–75.

24 Most of the scholars associate the frescoes from Peć with the circle of artists gathered around Michael and Eutychios or note their similarites with the Virgin Peribleptos and Žiča: Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 74; Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 227–228; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 67; R. Ljubinković, *Crkva Svetih apostola u Peći*, p. XVII (for reasons unknown, this author, however, dates them to the era of king Stefan Dečanski); Djurić, *Pećka patrijaršija*, 126–130; Djurić, *La peinture byzantine vers 1300*, 68–70 (associates them with other works of very probable Thessalonikan origin). The frescoes of Vatopedi are published only partly (Τσιγαρίδας, *Η Μονή Βατοπεδίου*, 401–423; Τσιγαρίδας, *Η μνημειακή ζωγραφική*, 304–320); one of the painters (Descent into Hades, the cycle of the Virgin and some of the single figures in the naos) who worked in the large group of artists is extraordinarily close to the artists from Peć.

25 Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 96–97; Mijović, *Žiča*, 27–42 (M. Kašanin), 124–199; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 68; G. Subotić, *Žiča Monastery*, Belgrade 1988, 26–32.

26 We assume that this is the painter whom modern scholars identify with Michael Astrapas from Ljeviška (Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 96), with his associates (Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 68) or with the painter from Peć (Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 228). It is possible that this painter signed his name on the hem of the dress of St. Theodore of Stoudios, of which only a couple of letters remain the meaning of which is difficult to ascertain (Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 228, note 853; G. Subotić, *Žiča Monastery*, 29; B. Živković, *Žiča. Les dessins des fresques*, Beograd 1985, 30).

27 The artistic qualities of the frescoes from Sušica have not been thoroughly investigated. Brief and correct appraisals of their transitional character are offered by Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 76–77; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 67 and Babić, *Sušica*, 336–339, but the need still exists for a more extensive analysis of their style.

28 The bibliography on the painters Michael Astrapas and Eutychios is extensive and the basic study is the monograph on their signed works: Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*; on their signatures cf. Miljković-Pepek, *Pišuvanite podatoci*, 139–169; R. Hamann-Mac Lean, *Zu den Malerinschriften der "Milutin-Schule"*, BZ 53/1 (1960), 112–117; Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 17–24 (with previous bibliography); Subotić – Todorović, *Sveti Prohor Pčinjski*, 126; on their Thessalonikan origins S. Kisas, *Solunska umetnička porodica Astrapa*, Zograf 5 (1974), 35–37; P. Miljković-Pepek, *L'atelier artistique d'Astrapas de la fin du XIIIe et des premières décennies du XIVe siècle*, JÖB 32/5 (1982), 491–494; on their relations with Constantinople Radojčić, *Majstori*, 29; Lazarev, *Storia*, 388–389. Other artists also worked in Thessaloniki and, apart from Michael Astrapas, Eutychios and Kalliergis (cf. note 18), Michael Proeleusis is also known by name, cf. G. Babić, *Mihailo Proelevsis, solunski slikar ranog XIV veka*, Zograf 12 (1981), 59–61.

29 The specific artistic qualities of the frescoes in the Virgin Peribleptos are insufficiently investigated, and their study is indispensible for a better understanding of the changes which took place in Byzantine art during the last decade of the XIII century and the early works of Michael and Eutychios, cf. C. Grozdanov, *Studii za ohridskiot živopis*, 84–101; most profound assessments of their artistic qualities in Hallensleben, *Die Malerschule*, 128–133, passim; Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 120–200 et passim; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 23–25.

30 B. Todić, *Prôtaton et la peinture serbe des premières décennies du XIVe siècle*, 31. On the frescoes in St. Euthymios and St. Panteleimon cf. A. Cituridu, *Zidno slikarstvo Svetog Pantelejmona u Solunu*, Zograf 6 (1975), 14–20; Γ. – Μ. Σωτηρίου, *Η βασιλική του Αγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης*,

213–219, πίν. 82–93; Th. Gouma-Peterson, *The Parecclesion of St. Euthimios in Thessalonica*, 168–183; Gouma-Peterson, *The Frescoes*, 111–129. On Sava III, hegoumenos of Chilandar, bishop of Prizren and Serbian archbishop cf. Arhiepiskop Danilo, *Životi*, 246; S. Stanojević, *Srpski arhiepiskopi od Save II do Danila II (1263–1326)*, Glas SKA CLIII (1933), 69–71; M. Purković, *Srpski episkopi i mitropoliti*, Hrišćansko delo III/4–6 (1937), 16; V. Mošin – M. Purković, *Hilandarski igumani srednjeg veka*, Skoplje 1940, 17.

31 The inscription with Astrapas's name in Bogorodica Ljeviška is best deciphered and explained by D. Panić, *O natpisu s imenima protomajstora u eksonarteksu Bogorodice Ljeviške*, Zograf 1 (1966), 21–23 (= Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 22–27); on the signatures of Michael and Eutychios cf. supra, note 28, and on Astrapas's name in Ljeviška also Radojčić, *Majstori*, 19–27; Xyngopoulos, *Thessalonique*, 34–40; Dj. Bošković, *O nekim našim graditeljima i slikarima iz prvih decenija XIV veka*, Starinar IX–X (1959), 125–131; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 88–89.

32 The best analysis of the artistic qualities of the wall paintings from Bogorodica Ljeviška is that by Gordana Babić (Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 81–93). Apart from her, these frescoes have also been analysed by R. Hamann-Mac Lean, *Aus der Mittelalterlichen Bildwelt Jugoslawiens. Einzelheiten des Freskenzyklus der Kirche des Gottesmutter von Ljeviša in Prizren*, Giessen 1955, 12–14; Hallensleben, *Die Malerschule*, 133–148; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 88–96; Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 228–230; Stojaković, *Arhitektonski prostor*, 127–128 et passim; B. Todić, *Prôtaton et la peinture serbe des premières décennies du XIVe siècle*, 29–31. Recently, V. J. Djurić found a place for these paintings in the broader phenomenon of art of the transitional style, Djurić, *La peinture byzantine vers 1300*, 71–72.

33 These seemingly small particularities, deftly woven through the painting from Ljeviška, reveal the artists' gift for direct and picturesque expression as well as the inspiration they found in some Hellenistic models; among other texts cf. R. Hamann-Mac Lean, *Aus der Mittelalterlichen Bildwelt Jugoslawiens*, Abb. 13–14, 18–21, 26–29; M. Tatić-Djurić, *Jedna groteska iz Ljeviške*, Zograf 4 (1972), 24–26; I. Djordjević, *Stari i Novi zavet na ulazu u Bogorodicu Ljevišku*, Zbornik LU 9 (1973), 15–25; Radojčić, *Uzori i dela*, 142, 145–146; Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 87–88.

34 As opposed to the extensive bibliography on the identification of Astrapas with Michael, not much has been done to distinguish the merits of different artists working in Ljeviška. Apart from Petar Miljković-Pepek, whose investigations touch on this problem (Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 228–230), only G. Babić has studied this problem in greater depth and determined the differences in the wall paintings of Ljeviška which she ascribed to several painters (Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 89–93).

35 On the signature of the painter Michael in St. Prochor of Pčinja cf. Subotić – Todorović, *Sveti Prohor Pčinjski*, 117–137, with the best descriptions of the remains of the older frescoes and an explanation of their relation with the younger paintings from 1488/9 (there, these authors date the frescoes in question to the period between 1316 and 1318). About the brick with Sava's name cf. B. Deljanin, *Istraživački radovi u 1983. godini u manastiru Prohoru Pčinjskom*, Glasnik DKS 8 (1984), 42–43; Subotić – Todorović, *Sveti Prohor Pčinjski*, 123–124.

36 Owing to these recorded dates (on them Miljković-Pepek, *Pišuvanite podatoci*, 141, note 6, 157–158; Hallensleben, *Die Malerschule*, 33; Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 23, 57; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 26–27, drawings 2, 4, 26) the frescoes from Nagoričino are reliably dated to the period between 6825 and 6826, i.e. 1316/1317 and 1317/1318.

37 The artistic characteristics of the Nagoričino frescoes have been the subject of interest of just a few authors, somewhat more extensively on the subject Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 102–105; Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 120–200; M. Σωτηρίου, *Η Μακεδονική σχολή και η λεγομένι Σχολή Μιλουτίν*, ΔΧΑΕ 4/5 (1969), 1–25; Stojaković, *Arhitektonski prostor*, 130–132 et passim; Chatzidakis, *Classicisme*, 156–157; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 72; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 127–138. Michael and Eutychios synchronised their work in Nagoričino to the greatest possible extent which makes it very difficult to determine the authorship of the individual frescoes. Miljković-Pepek (*Deloto*, 190–197) put in the greatest effort to determine the different artistic procedures on the Nagoričino frescoes and to ascribe them to Michael, Eutychios and their associates.

38 The numerous scholars who wrote about the frescoes of this Studenica church assumed that they were created before those of Nagoričino, i.e. around 1315, cf. Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 70–71 and note 52 (with the best list of works on the frescoes of Kraljeva crkva). However, these frescoes from Studenica could not have been painted before those of Nagoričino, meaning that they were created after Nagoričino and before Gračanica, most probably in 1318–1319. Quite different views have been expressed in regard of the question whether Michael and Eutychios were really their authors, since their signatures have not been preserved in this church, and these hesitancies have been dispelled by the more recent studies: Hallensleben, *Die Malerschule*, 152–158; Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 213–216; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 71; Todić, *Manastir Studenica*, 211–212; Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 200–218; Babić, *Studenica*, 124 et passim.

39 The artistic values of the frescoes from Kraljeva crkva have so far been best assessed by Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 105–109 and Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 193–219; cf. also Hallensleben, *Die Malerschule*, 152–158; Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 213–217; M. Rajković, *Kraljeva crkva u Studenici*, Beograd 1964, pp. I–VII; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 70–71; Todić, *Manastir Studenica*, 204–212; Djurić, *La peinture byzantine vers 1300*, 74–75.

40 Attempts to "distinguish the handwritings" have been made in just two instances: Todić, *Manastir Studenica*, 210–211 and Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 201–218. We have both, each on his or her own, reached practically the same results. Gordana Babić identifies the first artist with Michael and recognises Eutychios in the other.

41 Apart from the great number of authors who touched upon the question of the artistic qualities of the frescoes from Gračanica, more on this question in S. Radojčić, *Gračanica*, Hrišćansko delo 4 (1938), 24–34; id., *Freske u Milutinovim zadužbinama*, Umetnički pregled II/7 (1939), 202–207; id., *Gračanica i Dečani*, ibid. III/4–5 (1940), 130–133; Hallensleben,

Die Malerschule, 158–160; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 112–120; Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 233–234; Radojčić, *Gračaničke freske*, 173–180; Stojaković, *Arhitektonski prostor*, 132 et passim; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 72–73; Todić, *Gračanica*, 191–234.

42 In the historiography of Gračanica there are several attempts to distinguish the various works of the individual artists: N. Mavrodinov, *Starob'lgarskata živopis*, Sofija 1946, 140; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 116; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 73; D. Milošević, *Gračanica*, Beograd s. d., 23; Radojčić, *Gračaničke freske*, 177; Todić, *Gračanica*, 229–232.

43 The participation of Michael and Eutychios in the decoration of Gračanica was assumed by Dj. Bošković, *O nekim našim graditeljima i slikarima iz prvih decenija XIV veka*, 28–129; Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 233–234; D. Talbot Rice, *Byzantine Painting. The Last Phase*, London 1968, 112; J. Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, London 1970, 149; Mijović, *Menolog*, 77–85; D. Milošević, *Manastir Gračanica*, 22–26; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 72–73 and note 54; Todić, *Gračanica*, 232–234.

44 The signatures of the painters Michael and Eutychios have long since been published: G. Millet, *Sur le nom de deux peintres à St. Nikita*, Compte rendus des Séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris 1934, 223; Dj. Bošković, *Nekoliko natpisa sa zidova srpskih srednjovekovnih crkava*, Spomenik SKA LXXXVII (1938), 9; Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 22, fig. 2. The frescoes are usually dated to the period between 1307 and 1316, but already Lazarev (*Istorija vizantijskoj živopisi*, Moskva 1948, 328) believed that they are of a considerably later date, from around 1320. Having conditionally accepted the standard chronology in his doctoral thesis, P. Miljković-Pepek (*Deloto*, 5–53) faced serious problems in attempting to fit the decoration of St. Nikita, dated in such a manner, in the course of evolution of the work of Michael and Eutychios, and even went as far as suggesting that it could have been the work of some of their associates. Still, he discarded the possibility he sensed at one point (*Deloto*, 53, 98) that these frescoes could have been created after those of Nagoričino as "practically impossible". Considerably later, however, he did date them to the period around 1320 (Miljković-Pepek, *Crkvata Sv. Nikita*, 381–383; Miljković-Pepek, *O poznatim i anonimnim slikarima*, 58–59). Such dating is predominant in more recent texts: Todić, *Gračanica*, 223; Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 215 et passim; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 92 et passim.

45 Since the church of St. Nikita has not yet received an all-encompassing monograph, its frescoes and their artistic qualities have only been regarded in passing and insufficiently; cf. the most informative texts so far: F. Mesesnel, *Živopis crkve Sv. Nikite u Skopskoj Crnoj Gori*, Godišnjak Skopskog Filozofskog fakulteta I (1930), 148–150; Hallensleben, *Die Malerschule*, 121–127; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 98–100; Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 126–127, 133, 135, 137, 139–140, 142–143, 145–153, 158–160, 169–170, 181–182, 188–190.

46 The differences spotted on the frescoes in the church have rightly been ascribed to the personal contributions of Michael and Eutychios; on that question, in great detail, Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 188–190 and, briefly, Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 70.

47 The frescoes from Mušutište have been studied most completely by Djurić, *Nepoznati spomenici*, 61–67, figs. 2–7. Brief notes on their appearance and qualities are published, among others, also by Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 74; Miljković-Pepek, *O poznatim i anonimnim slikarima*, 58–59 and Djordjević, *Zidno slikarstvo*, 50.

48 The rich iconography of the frescoes has left the study of their artistic qualities in the shadow. Something on this subject in Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 109–112; *Istorija Crne Gore*, II/1, 260–262 (P. Mijović) (including the best reproductions of the frescoes, figs. 93–98) and Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 74.

49 The scarce remains of frescoes from Banjska have not been the subject of interest of historians of medieval art. They are mentioned, more in passing, and their golden background pointed out by Radojčić, *Majstori*, 18, 35 (based on the written sources, he beleived that they were associated with the XIII century); Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 86; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 258. V. J. Djurić (*La peinture murale de l'Ecole de la Morava*, La peinture de l'Ecole de la Morava, Beograd 1968, 36) was the first to mention that the medallions were connected by circular bands forming the figure eight, and M. Šuput (*Manastir Banjska*, Beograd 1989, 34–35, fig. 24) is the only one to have published a part of these frescoes, praising their high quality and allowing for the possibility, in the form of a question, that they are the work of Michael and Eutychios. Similar works are to be found in St. Mary Pammakaristos (H. Belting – C. Mango – D. Mouriki, *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos – Fethiye Camii – at Istanbul*, Washington 1978), above all in the dome (figs. 32, 43) and even more in the altar space (figs. 75, 77, 79–81) as well as in the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki (Stephan, *Ein byzantinisches Bildensemble*, Taf. 15, 23). For Danilo's comparison of Banjska with Studenica cf. Danilo II, *Die Königsbiographien*, 194; on the fascination of the unknown writer with its gold Stojanović, *Rodoslovi i letopisi*, 36.

50 The basic study on Kalliergis is the monograph by Σ. Πελεκανίδης, *Καλλιέργης*. Following the publication of this book, several other texts important for understanding his work appeared: Mouriki, *Stylistic Trends*, 66–68; Tsitouridou, *La peinture monumentale à Salonique*, 12–14; Djurić, *La peinture byzantine vers 1300*, 73–75; Θ. Παπαζώτος, *Η Βέροια και οι ναοί της (11ος–18ος αι.)*, Αθήνα 1994, 172–175, 253–257. The connection between the frescoes of Georgios Kalliergis and those in Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos has been noted by Xyngopoulos, *Thessalonique*, 28; Djurić, *Fresques médiévales à Chilandar*, 78–83; T. Velmans, *Les fresques de Saint-Nicolas Orphanos à Salonique et les rapports entre la peinture d'icônes et la décoration monumentale au XIVe siècle*, CA 16 (1966), 169, 172; Πελεκανίδης, *Καλλιέργης*, 116–121; Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, passim. Finally, there are some art historians who believe that there the frescoes of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos and those of Michael and Eutychios are very similar, especially when the later works of the two painters are concerned, like those from Nagoričino and St. Nikita: Xyngopoulos, *Thessalonique*, 43; Ξυγγόπουλος, *Οι τοιχογραφίες του Αγίου Νικολάου*, 25–26; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 213, note 134; Mijović, *Menolog*, 78; Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, passim; Tsitouridou, *La peinture monumentale à Salonique*, 12.

[51] Among the works mentioned in the previous note we should single out the latest monograph written by Anna Tsitouridou who also discusses with great interest the artistic value of the frescoes from Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos (Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, 224–266).

[52] The original and cleaned frescoes of the Chilandar katholikon have been studied most thoroughly by V. J. Djurić: Djurić, *Fresques médiévales à Chilandar*, 71–83; Djurić, *Chilandar*, 81–86; Djurić, *La peinture de Chilandar*, 32–41; Djurić, *Narthex de Chilandar*, 105–121. Some information on them also in Radojčić, *Umetnički spomenici*, 180–181; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 86; Hallensleben, *Die Malerschule*, 160; Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 230–233; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 74 and S. Petković, *Hilandar*, Belgrad 1989, 35–36.

[53] The question of identity of the artist who painted these frescoes has long been a subject of interest among art historians. At first it seemed that they were close to the works of Michael and Eutychios (Dj. Bošković, *O nekim našim graditeljima i slikarima iz prvih decenija XIV veka*, 128, 130; Miljkovik-Pepek, *Deloto*, 230–233), but, at the same time, there were also assumptions that they could be ascribed to Georgios Kalliergis (Djurić, *Fresques médiévales à Chilandar*, 78–81; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 127; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 74), cf. also P. Miljković-Pepek, *Denešnite možnosti za odreduvanje na avtorite na freskite vo glavnata manastirska crkva na Hilandar*, Glasnik na Institutot za nacionalna istorija X/2–3 (1966), 203–218. Following the uncovering of the other parts of the original frescoes, it turned out that it is best to associated them with artists close to Georgios Kalliergis and his contemporaries who worked in Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos (Πελεκανίδης, *Καλλιέργης*, 112–114; Djurić, *Chilandar*, 84–86; Djurić, *La peinture de Chilandar*, 37–41). Once the numerous frescoes still covered by the XIX century layer of painting are cleaned, we shall certainly be able to approach the problem of their authors with greater clarity.

[54] So far, frescoes in the refectory of Chilandar have been studied only by V. J. Djurić (Djurić, *Chilandar*, 88 and, in greater detail, Djurić, *La peinture de Chilandar*, 41–53, including the best assessment of their style, pp. 49–53), useful notes about them are also found in S. Petković, *Hilandar*, 42.

[55] Again, V. J. Djurić is the only scholar who has written about these frescoes, in one instance quite briefly (Djurić, *Chilandar*, 88, 92), and then in far greater detail (Djurić, *La peinture de Chilandar*, 53–62, on style 60–61).

[56] Danilo II, *Die Königsbiographien*, 175. On the merits of king Milutin in the renovation of Chilandar and the works of art from his era in the monastery cf. the concise and clear survey in Djurić, *Chilandar*, 68–98.

[57] S. Radojčić is the scholar who devoted most attention to this icon within the framework of broader investigations of Chilandar and its icons: Radojčić, *Umetnički spomenici*, 173; Radojčić, *Die serbische Ikonenmalerei*, 72, Taf. 8; *Icônes Sinaï, Grèce, Bulgarie, Yougoslavie*, Paris – Grenoble 1966, pp. LXV, XCVIII; cf. also Djurić, *Chilandar*, 64, pl. 47.

[58] These Chilandar icons have mostly been treated only briefly and in passing: Radojčić, *Umetnički spomenici*, 173; Djurić, *Chilandar*, 86, pls. 70–71.

[59] This icon has not by far been studied in an adequate manner, a more thorough study of its exceptional artistic values and iconography is still lacking. It has long since been noted but referred to only in passing: Radojčić, *Die serbische Ikonenmalerei*, 73–74; *Ikone*, Beograd 1983, 140 (G. Babić); Djurić, *Chilandar*, 86, pl. 72. For now, the most comprehensive text about it is that by Djurić, *Fresques médiévales à Chilandar*, 81–82.

[60] This icon was spotted and its artistic qualities investigated by V. J. Djurić who associated it with the frescoes in the katholikon: Djurić, *Fresques médiévales à Chilandar*, 82, figs. 34–35; Djurić, *Chilandar*, 86, 88.

[61] The Chilandar dyptich has been thoroughly studied, its origins have been determined and it has been dated to the close of the XIII or the first years of the XIV century: Radojčić, *Umetnički spomenici*, 173; S. Radojčić, *Hilandarski diptih. Novi prilog poznavanju mletačke minijature kasnog XIII veka*, Glas SAN CCXXXIV, Odeljenje društvenih nauka 7 (= *Članci i studije, 1933–1978*, Beograd 1982, 150–153); P. Huber, *Image et message. Miniatures byzantines de l'Anciene et du Nouveau Testament*, Zurich 1975, 143–150, fig. 1–17, 19–21, 23–24, 27 (all with the mark C); *The Treasures of Mount Athos*, II, Athens 1975, 392–394, figs. 432–443; Djurić, *Chilandar*, 96.



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Staro Nagoričino, *Frescoes in the north-east part of the naos*, 1315–1317



XXXIV

Ćučer, St. Nikita, *Dormition of the Virgin*, around 1320



XXXV

Čučer, St. Nikita, *Anapeson*, around 1320



XXXVI

Čučer, St. Nikita, *Communion of the Apostles with bread*, around 1320



XXXVII

Čučer, St. Nikita, *Purification of the Temple*, around 1320



XXXVIII

Thessaloniki, Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos, *Marriage at Cana*, 1315–1320

XXXIX

Chilandar, katholikon, *Holy warriors*, 1320–1321



XL

Thessaloniki, Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos, *Frescoes in the apse*, 1315–1320



XLI

Chilandar, katholikon, *St. Arsenios*, 1320–1321

XLII

Chilandar, katholikon, *Purification of the Temple*, 1320–1321



XLIII

Chilandar, katholikon, *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*, 1320–1321



XLIV

Chilandar, *Icon of St. Panteleimon*, beginning of the XIV century



XLV
Chilandar, *Icon of the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*, beginning of the XIV century

THE MONUMENTS AND THEIR STUDY

Ras

Church of St. Peter



The church was raised on the site of an ancient pagan sanctuary, probably in the VI century. It seems that it was fundamentally reconstructed in the X century and renovated subsequently several times during the Middle Ages, the period of Turkish rule and the XIX century. It served as the see of the bishops of Ras and belonged at first to the archbishoprics of Dyrrachium and Ohrid and then, after 1219, to the Serbian archbishopric so that bishops (and, from 1346 on, metropolitans) presided in it until 1786. Cf. Janković, *Episkopije i mitropolije,* 171, 139–141 et passim; Mihailović, *Crkva Svetog Petra,* 67–71; J. Nešković – R. Nikolić, *L'église Saint-Pierre près de Novi Pazar,* Belgrade 1987, 5–15.

The architecture of this church underwent many changes, some of its parts were torn down and others added on. Its original kernel, in which the frescoes are located, has the shape of a rotonda combined with a tetraconch encircled on the north, west and south side by an ambulatory divided into smaller spatial units, serving as a narthex and parekklesion. There is a circular gallery on the upper floor and a dome over the central space. Cf. J. Nešković, *Petrova crkva kod Novog Pazara,* Zbornik Arhitektonskog fakulteta VI/5 (1960–1961), 1–33; J. Nešković – R. Nikolić, *L'église Saint-Pierre,* 17–38.

There are several layers of wall paintings in the church. The oldest frescoes were probably painted in the X century and the second layer dates from the second half of the XII century. The third layer of frescoes, from the 1280's, once covered all the walls of this church but only random remains of it have been preserved in the altar, the dome and the space beneath it, the south and west conch and the former narthex. None of the layers of wall paintings are accompanied by historical inscriptions or mentioned in narrative sources, so that their chronology is based on iconographical and stylistic traits.

The most recent layer of frescoes, as all others, remained covered by a coat of mortar until 1956 when it was discovered. For the most part the frescoes have lost their original coloration in a fire which broke out at an unknown time.

The inscriptions on the XIII century layer of frescoes are in Serbian while Greek appears only in several spots in the dome.

The authors of the frescoes are not known.

In the summit of the *dome* is Christ Pantokrator encircled by the text of Psalm 32, 13–14 and further down are ten prophets (among them Elijah, Solomon, David and Daniel with preserved names) and four archangels (Michael and Gabriel with inscriptions). The south-east squinch is taken up by a half-figure of Aaron while the space between the squinches is taken by the Crucifixion on the east and the Entry into Jerusalem on the north side. In the zone beneath the dome are the Mandelion and the Annunciation above the triumphal arch, evangelist John above the south-east and evangelist Matthew (?) above the north-east pilaster.

Below the Virgin of the Signs on the vault of the *sanctuary* are angels (only that on the north side is better preserved), and in the lowest register are remains of two bishops from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy. In the niche located in the south part of the sanctuary is the cross of Golgotha accompanied by a cryptogram Φ̃ X̃ Φ̃ Π̃.

The lowest zone of the *naos* is the best preserved. Of the ktetor's composition in the south conch only Christ the Merciful with an open book (John 8, 10) has survived, approached by the Virgin and a monk (Symeon Nemanja?) with arms stretched out in prayer. On the south side of the south-west pilaster there are traces of a martyr and St. Christopher while St. John the Merciful appears on its front side, above the episcopal throne. Figures of Ephraim (?) the Syriac, Panteleimon (?) and a part of a holy doctor

have been preserved in the west conch; on the south side of the north-west pilaster, in a corner niche, there is a leaved cross with the inscription IC XC.

In the *narthex*, on the east wall, above the entrance to the naos, is the Dormition of the Virgin while the space on the south wall above the doorway which leads to the former parekklesion is decorated with a half-figure of St. Nicholas. Adjoining the passage is the figure of Symeon the Stylite and the inner faces of the doorway are decorated with floral ornaments and a leaved cross, with the initial letters of Christ's name.

Soon after they were uncovered, the frescoes of the third layer were well described and published: Ćorović-Ljubinković, *Živopis crkve Svetoga Petra,* 44–47, figs. 4–10; Hamann-Mac Lean – Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei,* 213–214; D. Tasić, *Crkva sv. Petra i Pavla kod Novog Pazara,* in: Novi Pazar i okolina, Beograd 1969, 125; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken,* 59; Hamann-Mac Lean, *Grundlegung,* 212–214; J. Nešković – R. Nikolić, *L'église Saint-Pierre,* 55–58; Mihailović, *Crkva Svetog Petra,* 90–93. Some of the irregularities in the distribution of frescoes Ćorović-Ljubinković *(Živopis crkve Svetoga Petra,* 47) saw as a result of the unsuitable surfaces of the church interior while Radojčić *(Slikarstvo,* 18) assumed that the choice of themes and their iconography were dependent on the older layer. Cf. also S. Mandić, *Drevnik,* Beograd 1975, 43–45 (on the Psalm written around the Pantokrator in the dome).

Most of the attention of the scholars was devoted to the dating and the style of the frescoes. Suspicions that those in the dome and the sanctuary belong to the XIII century (Ćorović-Ljubinković, *Živopis crkve Svetoga Petra,* 44, 46; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo,* 18; J. Nešković – R. Nikolić, *L'église Saint-Pierre,* 51; Mihailović, *Crkva Svetog Petra,* 84) were dispersed by Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken,* 59. Immediately upon their discovery, the frescoes were associated with the XIII century but it was also considered possible that they dated from the close of the preceding century (M. Ladjević, *Rezultati ispitivačkih radova,* 162) while R. Nikolić thought that they could even date from the first half (R. Nikolić, *Petrova crkva i Djurdjevi Stubovi,* Beograd 1961, 6) or the middle of the XIII century (J. Nešković – R. Nikolić, *L'église Saint-Pierre,* 57). However, other researchers made correct datings to the close of the XIII century: Radojčić, *Slikarstvo,* 18; D. Tasić in: *Srbija – znamenitosti i lepote,* Beograd 1965, 219; id., *Crkva sv. apostola Petra i Pavla kod Novog Pazara,* 125; Ćorović-Ljubinković, *Živopis crkve Svetoga Petra,* 48–49; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken,* 59. There were even attempts to determine their ktetor, mostly through the damaged ktetor's composition, because, with its mediating figures of the Virgin and a monk, it was irresistably reminiscent of other similar compositions found in the endowments of the Nemanjids in the XIII century. With the exception of Nikolić (J. Nešković – R. Nikolić, *L'église Saint-Pierre,* 57), who recognised the person of Stefan Prvovenčani in the figure of the monk and assumed that the ktetor could have been Uroš I, other scholars were inclined to consider either king Dragutin (D. Tasić, *Crkva sv. apostola Petra i Pavla kod Novog Pazara,* 125; Mihailović, *Crkva Svetog Petra,* 91, at the same time this author also assumed that the frescoes date from the period of Dragutin's independent reign) or king Milutin as the one who commissioned the painting of these frescoes: Ćorović-Ljubinković, *Živopis crkve Svetoga Petra,* 41; *Istorija srpskog naroda,* I, 482 (G. Babić-Djordjević). The features which lead most researchers to date the wall paintings of Petrova crkva to the last decades of the XIII century were their style and similarity to other contemporary works of art in Serbia.

The artistic characteristics of the frescoes received somewhat greater attention in the works of Ćorović-Ljubinković, *Živopis crkve Svetoga Petra,* 47–48; *Istorija srpskog naroda,* I, 423–424 (V. J. Djurić); Todić, *Srpske freske,* 80–81 et passim; Mihailović, *Crkva Svetog Petra,* 93–96. Their closeness to the decoration of the side chapels of Sopoćani (V. J. Djurić, *Sopoćani,* Beograd 1991, 61, 144), as well as with that of Dragutin's chapel, Arilje and some other monuments, was spotted early on: D. Tasić, *Crkva sv. apostola Petra i Pavla kod Novog Pazara,* 125; Ćorović-Ljubinković, *Živopis crkve Svetoga Petra,* 47–48; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken,* 59; Mihailović, *Crkva Svetog Petra,* 96. Attempts were also made to distinguish the individual works of several painters: according to M. Ćorović-Ljubinković *(Živopis crkve Svetoga Petra,* 47, 49), there were three local painters of varying capabilities while Mihailović *(Crkva Svetog Petra,* 94*)* demonstrated that only two artists worked in this church. Differences in the assessment of the values of the frescoes are just as important and range from views that "there is not even the slightest trace heralding the new style of the Palaiologoi" (Mihailović, *Crkva Svetog Petra,* 95*)* to convictions that they actually belong to the early Palaiologan style (Hamann-Mac Lean – Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei,* 214).

Djurdjevi Stupovi in Ras
Dragutin's chapel



In the days of king Dragutin, the monastery entrance tower was transformed into a parekklesion of unknown dedication. Along with other undertakings, this act was a part of the particular care which king Dragutin dedicated to the monastery raised by his great-grandfather Stefan Nemanja, all with the intention of making it his resting place, a desire actually realised with his burial there in 1316. Dragutin's endeavours focused on the restoration of the monastery are associated with the period of his independent reign (1276–1282) although it went on even after that time. Today, it is certain that the narthex was covered with wall paintings prior to 1282 and the chapel only after that year (Z. Zeković, *Konzervacija zidnih slika manastirskog kompleksa Djurdjevi Stupovi u Rasu,* Glasnik DKS 5, 1981, 4; Marjanović-Dušanić, *Vladarske insignije,* 50). The parekklesion shared the fate of the monastery, especially after the monastery became deserted in 1689, but, all in all, suffered less damage. Its frescoes became the subject of scholarly interest before they were considerably damaged during World War I or covered with a layer of mortar during World War II (Dj. Bošković, *Stanje srednjovekovnih spomenika u jugozapadnoj Srbiji, Kosmetu i severoistočnom delu Crne Gore,* Muzeji 1, 1948, 100). They were cleaned in 1965 and 1970–1974 (R. Stanić in: Raška baština 1, 1975, 303; Z. Zeković, *Konzervacija zidnih slika,* 42–45).

The ground floor of the former entrance tower determined the appearance of the parekklesion with its square plan, a wide semicircular entrance on the north side and a shallow altar space with an apse created in place of the eastern entrance (this apse has recently been restored: V. R. Petković, *Narodni muzej u 1926,* Godišnjak SKA XXXV, 1927, 298). This room is covered with a ribbed cross vault. On the architecture of the parekklesion cf. J. Nešković, *Djurdjevi Stupovi u Starom Rasu,* Kraljevo 1984, 194–200.

So far, its frescoes have been dated to 1282–1283 based on the portraits present in its decoration (Radojčić, *Portreti,* 27). It seems, however, that they are of a slightly later date since the name of king Milutin's wife, that is the name of the Thessalian princess he was married to at that time, was not Jelena, as deciphered by A. F. Gil'ferding, *Sobranie sočinenij, III. Poezdka po Gercegovine, Bosnii i Staroj Serbii,* S.-Petersburg 1873, 97 (although his reading can not be checked because this inscription no longer exists). Since no wife of king Milutin's, from 1282 on, was called Jelena, we should assume that what Hilferding saw was only a part of a name of some other spouse of this Serbian king, either Jelisaveta (1283–1284) or Ana (1284–1299). Moreover, because there is no portrait of Urošic, Dragutin's second son born around 1285, we should presume that the frescoes were created between 1283 and 1285.

They are probably the work of some Greek artist. Although the inscriptions are in Serbian there are also some written out in Greek or in a combined Greek-Serbian form.

The triangular segments of the cross *vault* bear four representations of Serbian councils with the following scenes: Nemanja handing over his throne to his son Stefan, the enthronement of king Uroš I, the enthronement of king Stefan Dragutin and Dragutin giving his throne to his brother Milutin. The intrados of the *arch in front of the apse* is decorated with the images of two cherubim, there is a Mandelion above the apse, beneath it are the half-figures of Sts. Joachim and Anne and lower still the images of two stylites: St. Symeon Thaumaturgos and St. Symeon the Stylite. On the *south wall* is the Holy Trinity in the form of Hospitality of Abraham and, in the lower register, a line of Nemanjids before an enthroned Christ: Symeon Nemanja ("St. Symeon Nemanja, lord of all Serbian lands..."), Stefan Prvovenčani as the monk Simon ("... Stefan the First-Crowned Serbian King, monk Simon"), king Uroš as the monk Symeon ("Stefan King Uroš, monk

Symeon") and queen Jelena ("Jelena the Great Queen"). In the upper register of the *west wall* there are half-figures of holy doctors Panteleimon and Damian and, in the lower register, the figures of the ktetor, king Dragutin ("Stefan the King, son of the Holy and Great King Uroš, and ktetor of this Holy Church"), with a model of the small church in his hands, his son (Vladislav) and wife Katelina, as well as king Milutin and his wife (Jelisaveta or Ana). At the top of the *north wall* is the Keramion and around it half-figures of Sts. Cyrus and John and, beneath them, the figures of two unidentified saints. Inside the entrance there are representations of Christ blessing with both hands and, below him, the apostles Peter and Paul.

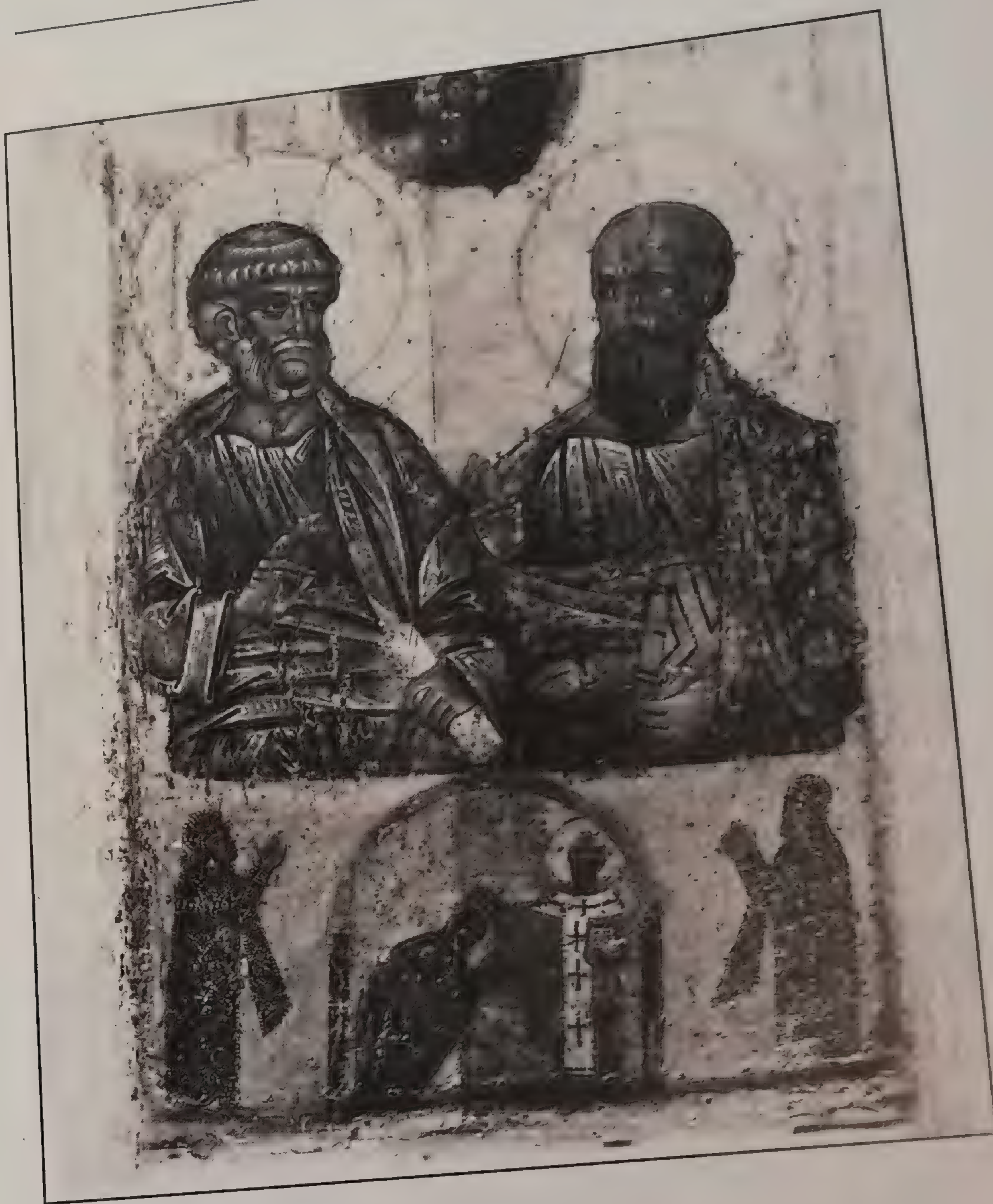
Since portraits of Nemanjid family members and images of events from Serbian history dominate the decoration of the parekklesion, it is understandable why in the historiography of Dragutin's chapel they received most of the scholarly attention. Of the older texts on the monastery of Djurdjevi Stupovi the most valuable is that of Hilferding, *Poezdka*, 96–97, which publishes the inscriptions by the historical figures in the bottom register. Most probably, it was based on them that Radojčić, *Portreti*, 27–28 determined the identities of the portrayed figures, dated the frescoes and explained their iconography, in light of similar representations in Serbian and Byzantine art. In doing so, he also relied on I. Ruvarac *(O ženama kralja Stefana Uroša II Milutina,* Zbornik Ilariona Ruvarca, I, Beograd 1934, 17), who, basing his views on Hilferding's readings, believed that the woman depicted by Milutin's side was his wife Jelena, the daughter of John, sebastokrator of Thessaly, to whom the king was married from 1282 to 1283. The views of Ruvarac and Radojčić were upheld for a number of years before first shadows of doubt were cast upon them by M. Dinić (*Comes Constantinus*, ZRVI, 7, 1961, 2) and, following him, V. Mošin *(Balkanskata diplomatija i dinastičkite brakovi na kralot Milutin,* Spomenici na Makedonija, II, 149–185). They were finally discarded by Lj. Maksimović and I. Djurić *(Vizantijski izvori,* VI, 38–43, notes 80–83 and 137–139, note 109): Maksimović claims that this portrait represents Milutin's first wife whose name was indeed Jelena *(Vizantijski izvori,* VI, 41, note 82), while Djurić, allowing for the possibility that the inscription was incorrectly deciphered, believes that this portrait represents one of the first three wives of king Milutin – either a Serbian or a Thessalian lady of unknown name or the Hungarian gentlewoman by the name of Jelisaveta – depicted prior to the year 1282 (Djurić, *Deževski sabor,* 191–193). We can accept Djurić's hesitancy regarding the correct reading of the inscriptions but not his assumption that Dragutin's chapel was decorated in two turns: before and after 1282. These representations were also the subject of interest, from different viewpoints, of R. Nikolić, *Zašto se kralj Milutin kao ktitor nije slikao sa sinovima,* Raška baština 2 (1980), 94–98; M. Tatić-Djurić, *L'iconographie de la donation dans l'ancien art serbe,* Actes du XIVe congr. int. des études byzantins, III, Bucarest 1971, 316 and Babić, *Peintures murales byzantines,* 368. Representations of Serbian councils were noted, identified and thoroughly investigated by Djurić, *Istorijske kompozicije (II)*, 131–137, so that both his own subsequent works and those of other art historians only repeated and implemented the conclusions published in this study: Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken,* 59; *Istorija srpskog naroda,* I, 422–423 (V. J. Djurić); Milošević, *Die Heiligen Serbiens,* 18–19; J. Nešković – D. Milošević, *Les "Tours de St. Georges" dans le vieux Ras*, Belgrade 1986, 49–60; Walter, *L'iconographie des conciles*, 109 and a series of other less significant texts published after 1967.

Other frescoes did not draw that much scholarly attention. Briefly and incompletely, they were described by N. L. Okunev, *Stolpy Svjatogo Georgija,* SK (1927), 245; Okunev, *Portrety korolej-ktitorov*, 94–95 (dates them to the early XIV century, between 1314 and 1316) as well as by R. Nikolić, *Petrova crkva i Djurdjevi Stupovi*, Beograd 1961, 14. They were listed more precisely by Petković, *Pregled,* 115–116; D. Tasić, *Djurdjevi Stubovi,* in: Novi Pazar i okolina, Beograd 1969, 134–135; Babić, *Les chapelles,* 168–169; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken,* 59; Velmans, *La peinture murale*, 165; J. Nešković – D. Milošević, *Les "Tours de St. Georges"*, 49–61. The programme of the frescoes was considered only in the work of Babić, *Les chapelles,* 169, who noticed that it is rather similar to narthex programmes. V. J. Djurić (*Istorijske kompozicije, II*, 136–137) associated the image of the Holy Trinity with representations of councils above it. In the same text he also pointed out the connection between Serbian rulers and several other frescoes in this Chapel: holy stylites were painted here as name-sakes of the progenitor of the family and the first ktetor of the monastery, Symeon Nemanja, holy doctors – the most numerous group of saints in this space – appear to be the guardian saints of the ktetor of this small church, king Dragutin, who fell ill after falling from his horse and stepping down from the throne (cf. also Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 60).

Having noticed the mixture of Serbian and Greek in the inscriptions, Djurić, *La peinture murale serbe au XIIIe siècle*, 156, determined the Greek origins of the painters and found similar works in Constantinople: Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 60. In the same text he also offered a brief assessment of the artistic qualities of the frescoes while a more detailed investigation of their stylistic and artistic features was undertaken by Todić, *Srpske freske*, 77, 80, 85, 87.

Best reproductions of the frescoes, although not all, in D. Milošević – J. Nešković, *Les "Tours de St. Georges"*, figs. 1, 31–38.

Rome
Icon of the apostles Peter and Paul



Icon (72.5 x 51 cm), linen canvass on wood, chalk ground, tempera. Originally with golden ground (now yellow) and a silver revetment (?) (Radojčić, *Die serbische Ikonenmalerei,* 70–71). In the upper part, against a dark blue semicircular background studded with stars, is a half-figure of Christ blessing with both hands. Below him are half-figures of the apostles Peter and Paul, half-turned towards each other. Lower still, under a decorative twisted arch resting on colonettes and against a green background, is a figure of a bowing woman in monastic habit (Jelena) with arms stretched out towards an unknown saint wearing a red chasuble sprinkled with tiny flowers and a white pallium, a conical mitre and a pastoral staff with which he dispenses benediction. Figures of two kings (Dragutin and Milutin) appear on either side of this scene, both dressed in red divetesia with loroi crossed on their chests, bearing spherical crowns and sporting red shoes, turning towards each other with raised arms.

Already in 1304 the icon was located in the treasury of popes Boniface VIII and Benedict IX. It was repainted several times and cleaned in 1941.

The inscriptions are in Serbian, written out only above Christ and Sts. Peter and Paul.

In 1942, Ammann (A. M. Ammann, *Die Ikone der Apostelfürsten in St. Peter zu Rom*, Orientalia christiana periodica VIII/3–4, 1942, 457–468) published all known archive and historiographical data which indicate that this icon was long considered to be a work of art from the days of emperor Constantine the Great. Although the Slavonic inscriptions on it, the iconography and the shape of the episcopal mitre convinced researchers that it could not have been created prior to the XIII century ideas of its greater antiquity still lingered on: G. Anichini (G. Anichini, *Di un antico quadro nella Basilica Vaticana,* Rivista di archeologia e critica 18, 1941, 141–149) believed that it was made in the XII century and identified the royal figures as the brothers Stefan Nemanja and Miroslav. A correct assessment of the chronology of the icon and its iconography was offered by Volbach (W. F. Volbach, *Die Ikone der Apostelfürsten in St. Peter zu Rom*, Orientalia christiana periodica VII/3–4, 1941, 480–496). He assumed that this icon reached Rome around the year 1300 and that it was modelled after an icon which pope Sylvester received from emperor Constantine which was kept in Rome. Through stylistic analysis and comparison with Serbian frescoes and icons from Ohrid from the XIII and XIV centuries, he concluded that the icon was painted around the year 1300 because it is closest to the frescoes of Arilje. He identified the historical personages correctly as kings Dragutin and Milutin and their mo-

ther Jelena. In her review of Volbach's study, M. Ćorović-Ljubinković (Starinar I, 1950, 253–255) discarded his assumption that the model for the icon was an older example from the IV century and was more inclined to compare it with the later churches of king Milutin (Nagoričino and St. Nikita). S. Radojčić also disagreed with Volbach's view on the un-Byzantine appearance of Peter and Paul but he did accept his assessment that the icon is close to the frescoes of Arilje, with ideas that it could have been created in king Dragutin's workshop, the one mentioned by archbishop Danilo (Radojčić, *Die serbische Ikonenmalerei*, 70–71; S. Radojčić, *Ikone Srbije i Makedonije*, Beograd 1961, p. VIII; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 78). At one point he pointed out that this icon could have been painted in Kotor (S. Radojčić, *Geschichte der serbischen Kunst von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des Mittelalters*, Berlin 1969, 43, 65–66), a view especially strongly defended by P. Mijović (*Istorija Crne Gore*, II/1, 269–270; P. Mijović, *Pregled umjetnosti Crne Gore*, Beograd 1976, 41; id., *Umjetničko blago Crne Gore*, Beograd – Titograd 1980, 151–152), G. Babić (*Ikone*, Beograd 1983, 139) also assumed that the author of the icon was some "Greek painter" from Kotor and denied any degree of actual likeness to the portraits of Jelena, Dragutin and Milutin. Most thoroughly the icon was discussed by Tatić-Djurić, *Ikona apostola Petra i Pavla*, 11–16, who gathered all accessible information on it, studied its iconography and compared it with many Serbian monuments of the XIII century, thus reaching a conclusion that it stands closest to the painting of Gradac. At a later date (M. Tatić-Djurić, *Poznate ikone od XII–XVIII veka*, Beograd 1984, p. XIV) her opinion changed and she dated this icon between 1267 and 1282. Finally, J. Radovanović included this icon in his study of portraits of living men on icons, Radovanović, *Ikonografska istraživanja*, 61–62.

The icon has been published several times; reproductions have been published by Volbach, Anichini, Radojčić and others while M. Tatić-Djurić published a colour reproduction (Tatić-Djurić, *Ikona apostola Petra i Pavla*). A colour photograph, of the original this time, is found also in *Ikone*, on page 156.



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Vatican, Pinacothek,
Icon of Sts. Peter and Paul with portraits of ktetors, detail: *King Dragutin*, end of the XIII century

Arilje

Church of St. Achilleios



The church was raised by king Dragutin on a site with a long history of sacral place in the see of the bishopric of Moravica. Its construction probably began during the years of Dragutin's independent rule and was completed at around the time of the change on the Serbian throne which took place in 1282 (M. Čanak-Medić, *Iz istorije Arilja,* Saopštenja XIV, 1982, 38–41). The church was decorated with wall paintings only in 1295/96, as attested by the inscription running around the perimeter of the base of the dome (Dj. Bošković, *Nekoliko natpisa sa zidova srpskih srednjovekovnih crkava,* Spomenik SKA LXXXVII, 1938, 8–9, fig. 6; B. Živković, *Arilje – raspored fresaka,* Beograd 1970, 6). Not long after that date, an exonarthex was raised adjoining the church and decorated with frescoes. The church served as the cathedral of the bishops of Moravica (Arilje) and from the middle of the XIV century as the see of metropolitans, until 1737 when it became deserted, to be renewed only in the XIX century. Most thoroughly on the history of the monastery and the church in M. Čanak-Medić, *Iz istorije Arilja,* 25–49.

The church is a single-nave structure with a dome resting on pilasters. Originally, it consisted of a narthex, a naos made of the western and the bay under the dome (with two rectangular choirs located on either side of this central space) and an altar ending in a semicircular apse and flanked, on the north and the south, by two parekklesia dedicated to St. Stephen and St. Nicholas. The spacious exonarthex was added around 1300 or shortly after that year. Concisely and clearly on the architecture of the Arilje church in M. Čanak-Medić, *Sveti Ahilije u Arilju,* Beograd 1982, 10–16).

The wall paintings, dated precisely to 1295/96, are quite well preserved. The frescoes are mostly damaged on the vaults, in the north choir and the apse while those in the parekklesion of St. Stephen have vanished completely. The extant frescoes have been cleaned of dust and soot in 1955–1956 (M. Ladjević, *Radovi na živopisu u Arilju, Veluću i Ježevici,* Saopštenja I, 1956, 42–43) and once again in our time, with no report published so far on this undertaking.

The painters are not known by name. Based on the preserved abbreviation ΜΑΡΠΟΥ located in a window in the north wall of the west bay it has, however, been established that they came from Thessaloniki (S. Radojčić, *Studije o umetnosti XIII veka,* Glas SAN CCXXXIV/7, 1959, 400–45).

The inscriptions on the frescoes are in Serbian with very rare incursions of those in Greek.

A great number of frescoes has been preserved on the walls of Arilje.

Sanctuary

In the apse there is a Communion of the Apostles with bread and wine. On the inner sides of the apse window there are two leaved crosses with abbreviations IC XC NI KA and E E E E. In the lower register there is a Celebration of Holy Liturgy with the following holy fathers taking part – on the north side – St. Gregory the Thaumaturgos with an unrolled scroll inscribed with words from the Offertory Prayer, St. Gregory the Theologian with a scroll (the prayer following the Anaphora), St. Basil with a scroll with the text of the Cherubic hymn and – on the south side – St. John Chrysostomos with a scroll (Prayer of Oblation of the Proskomide rite), St. Athanasios with a scroll with the prayer of the First Antiphon and St. Achilleios with a scroll with the words from the service of the Proskomide. In the niche under the window there is an image of the Amnos on an altar table and two Golgotha crosses on the lateral faces of the niche accompanied by abbreviations IC XC N K. Only traces of the Ascension remain on the vault. On the south wall, below the Nativity, there are two

bishops, participants of the Celebration of Holy Liturgy: St. Cyril with a scroll (Prayer of Thanksgiving) and an unidentified figure with the text of the prayer over the offertory-table following the Prayer below the chancel steps. In the niche above the entrance to the parekklesion of St. Nicholas there is a half-figure of this saint. On the north wall, below the Descent into Hades, there were two figures of bishops from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy: an unknown ecclesiastic with a scroll of the Prayer below the chanchel steps and St. Gregory of Nyssa with the text of the Prayer following the Communion. The niche above the entrance to the north parekklesion is filled with an image of St. Stephen in half-figure and in the doorway there are two leaved Golgotha crosses with abbreviations Φ̃ X̃ Φ̃ Π̃, i.e. ĪC X̄C N̄Ī K̄A. On the other side of the lunette there is a leaved cross with abbreviations ĪC X̄C Ñ K̃.

The two pilasters on the east, on the sides facing the altar, are each decorated with images of three bishops (names have been preserved by Sts. Spyridon and Blasios) and, in the uppermost zone, a Keramion and four saints in roundelles. On the inner faces of the pilasters and the arch connecting them we find, in the upper register, Sts. Joachim and Anne and, in the lower parts, David (with the text of Ps. 44, 10 written out on a scroll) and Solomon (the text of Proverbs 9, 1 on his scroll) while two holy doctors, Hermolaos and Panteleimon, stand above the iconostasis.

The Parekklesion of St. Nicholas

In the upper zone of the apse is a figure of St. Nicholas and, beneth him, those of two other bishops, James and Acacius. On the south part of the vault, the cycle of St. Nicholas begins with the scene of his Birth and Ordainment as Deacon and continues on the west side with the Ordainment as Priest to end on the north wall with the Miracle of the Three Generals in Constantinople and the Freeing of the Three Innocents from the Sword. In the lower zone, frontally facing the onlooker on the south wall are Sts. Anthimus, Nicholas and Marcianus and, on the west wall, St. Sophronios, deacon Mocius and St. Clement, while Sts. Babylas and Antipas appear on the north wall. In the doorway leading to the altar there are two painted Golgotha crosses: one is accompanied by abbreviations [Φ̃ X̃] Φ̃ Π̃, and the other by ĪC X̄C N̄Ī K̄A.

Naos

In the drum of the dome, between the windows, there are remains of damaged figures of prophet Moses, with the tablets of the law, Melchizedek, with a vessel and pieces of bread, Zachary (?) with an unrolled scroll (Isaiah 1, 16), Samuel, with the horn of anointment, an unidentified figure and Aaron with the manna vessel and the rod. Under them stands another line of prophets, all shown in half-figure and with texts written out on unrolled scrolls: Jonah (Jonah 2, 3), Joel (Joel 3, 12), Malachi, Zechariah with a sickle, Habakkuk and Sophoniah (Sophoniah 3, 14). Further still is the inscription concerning the decoration of the church with the date (6)804 (1295/6). The evangelists are on the pendentives: John on the south-east, Mark on the south-west, Luke on the north-west and Matthew on the north-east; the opening words of their gospels are preserved only on the books of John, Mark and Luke.

In the space beneath the dome, the Presentation of Christ in the Temple is located on the east wall, Baptism on the south (a prophet with a scroll inscribed with words from Isaiah 11, 1 and another with the text of Ezekiel 34, 10 appear on the arch), in the lower register stands the Betrayal of Judas and two holy doctors, Sampson and Diomedes, in medallions, as well as the Road to Calvary; on the west wall we find the Transfiguration (two prophets with unrolled scrolls appear on the arch) and on the north the Raising of Lazarus (another two prophets are painted on the arch – probably Eliah and Elisha – with scrolls; one, that of Jeremiah, carries the text of Baruch 3, 36) with the Entry into Jerusalem below it and Sts. Cyrus and, probably, John in medallions as well as Christ Before Pilate, with remains of an inscription from Matthew 27, 24.

Around the iconostasis, on the western faces of the two eastern pilasters, we find the Annunciation and, under it, half-figures of archangels Michael (almost entirely damaged) and Gabriel.

The south choir. On the western part of the vault stand the remains of the Washing of the Feet. On the east wall, from the iconostasis, are the following images: Christ, St. Achilleios, John the Prodromos (the opening verse of the sticheron dedicated to him on his scroll) and Nicholas (?). On the south wall: an unknown megaloschimnos, St. Ephrem the Syriac (in a medallion), Peter and Paul and leaved crosses in the lunette of the window (ĪC X̄C Ñ) and on the window posts (ĪC X̄C). On the west wall: Sts. Constantine and Helena with the cross, John Chrysostomos and the Virgin with Christ.

North choir. On the west wall are Sts. Demetrios, George (?), Theodore Teron and Theodore Stratelates (?). No frescoes have been preserved on the north wall. On the east wall only a small fragment of a figure in monastic habit has survived. Better preserved are the figures of St. Stephen and the Virgin, with arms stretched out in supplication, by the iconostasis.

South-west pilaster. On the east side is a holy warrior and, under this figure, Sts. Sergius and Alexander (in half-figure); on the north: Sts. Auxentius, Menas and Damian; on the west: St. Eugenios and, lower, St. Laurus and Chist at the very bottom of the pilaster.

North-west pilaster. On the east side is an unknown martyr with a sword (St. Bacchus) and another in half-figure; on the south: Sts. Eustratios, Victor and Cosmas in the bottom register; on the west: an unkown deacon at the top of the pilaster (Abibus?) and, below him, Sts. Florus and Symeon Nemanja with an unrolled scroll (Ps. 33, 11) at the very bottom.

West bay. Of the frescoes decorating the front side of the arch connecting the pilasters, five medallions with half-figures of martyrs have been preserved. On the south wall – below an ornamental cornice – are other half-figures of martyrs in medallions. Flanking the window are two figures of martyrs (one being St. Mardarios) and inside the window are two leaved crosses with bases. The middle zone is taken up by the Birth of the Virgin and the bottom register by a line of monks made up of St. Stefan Provovenčani ("St. Simon Stefan King"), Uroš I ("St. Symeon Uroš King") and queen Jelena ("Jelena Queen of all Serbian land"). In the top register of the west wall is the Dormition, south of the entrance stand bishop Jevsevije ("Jevsevije, Bishop of Moravica") and archbishop Jevstatije (II) ("Jevstatije, Archbishop of all Serbian land"), small remains of a half-figure appear in the lunette while two Serbian archbishops, St. Jevstatije (I) and Joanikije, stand north of the entrance. In the uppermost zone of the north wall there is a fragment of a saint in a medallion and, flanking the window, figures of two holy martyrs while remains of leaved crosses with bases appear on the inner faces of the window opening (the inscription ΜΑΡΠΟΥ stands by the one on the east). The central zone is taken up by the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple and in the bottom register there are figures of Serbian archbishops, St. Sava (II), Arsenije and St. Sava ("St. Sava the first Serbian Archbishop").

Narthex

The vault only displays random traces of the Ecumenical Councils. On the east wall is a fragment of some council and, below it, representations of the Fifth and Fourth (?) Ecumenical Councils as well as the Sacrifice of Abraham and, flanking the entrance, archangel Michael and St. Achilleios (only minor traces remain of the half-figure of Christ in the lunette). The uppermost zone of the south wall contains two medallions of saints in half-figure and, below them, representations of the First (?) Ecumenical Council and Vision of St. Peter of Alexandria while the bottom register displays the ktetor's composition with figures of king Milutin ("Stefan King of all Serbian land and the Littoral Uroš") and king Dragutin ("Stefan King and first ktetor") carrying a model of the church, both are blessed by Christ depicted in half-figure above them, while Dragutin's wife, Katelina ("Katelina Queen"), stands at the end of this sequence of figures. On the west wall is the Tree of Jesse, in the lunette a half-figure of St. Eustathios Placidas, by the entrance stand Dragutin's children, Vladislav and Urošic ("lord Vladislav, lord Urošic, sons of King Stefan"), who receive blessings from Christ Emmanuel painted in a segment of the firmament. The uppermost part of the north wall is likewise decorated with images of two martyrs in medallions, the Seventh (?) Ecumenical Council is below them and, directly beneath it, the Council of Symeon Nemanja ("Council of St. Symeon Nemanja King") while the bottom zone contains the figure of Gerasim, bishop of Moravica, and the Death Scene of St. Merkurije, bishop of Moravica.

Exonarthex

In the lunette above the former western entrance to the church is a half-figure of St. Achilleios.

In the lunette on the south facade located above the southern entrance to the exonarthex there are remains of a damaged representation of Christ, apparently from the beginning of the XIV century.

The quite well preserved frescoes of Arilje became the subject of scholarly attention early on so that the gathered material and data concerning them is almost entirely complete. Of a number of amateurs of antiquities who visited Arilje during the first half or around the middle of the XIX century and recorded some of their impressions, the article of S. Obradović, *Opisanije okružija užičkog,* Glasnik DSS 10 (1858), 332–333, deserves special mention. The historical figures also drew the attention of M. Valtrović and D. Milutinović who described and even published some of them (Glasnik SUD XLVI, 1878, 253–254; Nova Iskra 1, 1901, 13, 29), while V. R. Petković recorded the inscriptions accompanying them *(Likovi ktitora u starim crkvama. srpskim,* Nova Iskra 10, 1911, 301–302) and, a while later, made a correct dating of the frescoes based on an incised inscription from a doorpost of the parekklesion of St. Nicholas (V. R. Petković, *Starine – zapisi, natpisi, listine,* Beograd 1923, 366). The study of Okunev, *Aril'e*, 221–254, was especially important in perceiving the frescoes of this church in their entirety because it offered a careful survey of scenes and single figures of saints, inscriptions and a brief evaluation of the iconography of the themes and the artistic characteristics of the frescoes. Several years prior to the publication of Okunev's study, some of the frescoes were already published and the most important themes noted by V. R. Petković (Petković, *La peinture serbe*, I, pl. 25–28; II, 16–17, pl. XXX–XXXII), Some twenty years later the same author was to complete this task more thoroughly and with an additional entry on the history of the monastery in another publication, Petković, *Pregled,* 5–8. The publishing of the entire scope of the preserved frescoes from Arilje was especially significant for their scientific study: Millet – Frolow, *La peinture,* II, pl. 68–87, 101, 103; Hamann-Mac Lean – Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei*, 26–27, Abb. 144–157, Plan 18–19; Velmans, *La peinture murale*, 164. Apart from several popular monographs which included considerations of the frescoes, although without an intention of perceiving their programme in all its details (M. Tatić-Djurić, *Arilje,* Beograd 1960; S. Petković, *Arilje,* Belgrad 1965; M. Čanak-Medić, *Sveti Ahilije u Arilju),* a quarter of a century ago the drawings of all the frescoes were also published B. Živković, *Arilje – raspored fresaka*. Useful corrections and additional infor-

mation have been offered by D. Vojvodić, *Prilog iščitavanju ikonografskog programa živopisa u Arilju – naos i oltarski prostor*, Glasnik DKS 20 (1996), 91–96.

Documentary material published in such a manner served as an extraordinarily useful basis for a more indepth investigation of the fresco decoration of Arilje and some of its particular representations. In reviewing the relevant historiography, we find that researchers were first interested in portraits and "historical" compositions. Already the article published by Petković on the subject of ktetors in Serbian churches pointed out the most important historical themes found in Arilje, and they were described more thoroughly by Okunev, *Portrety korolej-ktitorov*, 82–85 and elucidated even better by Radojčić, *Portreti*, 30–35, who, being aware of their crucial importance in determining the appearance of Serbian royal portraits, devoted full attention to the ktetor's composition and explained it as a representation modelled on the form of the Byzantine dual portrait while associating the images of Dragutin's ancestors with similar representations in earlier Serbian art. More thoroughly than M. Kašanin *(Nemanjin sabor na fresci u Arilju*, Politika, 6. January 1931; id., *Portret jedne srpske kraljice*, Vreme, 11–14. April 1931) the same author also interpreted the Council of St. Symeon Nemanja. In addition to that, he also produced an excellent artistic analysis of the portraits. His views on the subject were long regarded as a reliable starting point for further study by subsequent scholars. V. J. Djurić *(Istorijske kompozicije, II*, 137–141) once again focused attention on the representation of Nemanja's council and reviewed meticulously its iconography and meaning and, within the framework of much broader research of death scenes in Serbian art, regarded also the fresco showing the death of bishop Merkurije (Djurić, *Istorijske kompozicije, III*, 103–114). Evaluations made by Radojčić and Djurić were, in most cases, the basis upon which the authors of studies involving representations from Arilje produced their works: Winfield, *Four Historical Compositions*, 271–272 (on the burial of bishop Merkurije); Milošević, *Die Heiligen Serbiens*, 19–23; ead., *Srbi svetitelji*, 158–159, 165, 193, 195, 200); Velmans, *Le portrait*, 116, 122 et passim; Walter, *L'iconographie des conciles*, 110 (on the Council of Nemanja); Hamann-Mac Lean, *Grundlegung*, 178 (also on the Council of Nemanja); M. Tatić-Djurić, *L'iconographie de la donation dans l'ancien art serbe*, Actes du XIVe cong. int. des ét. byz., III, Bucarest 1976, 316; R. Nikolić, *Zašto se kralj Milutin kao ktitor nije slikao sa sinovima*, Raška baština 2 (1980), 94–98; Babić, *Peintures murales byzantines*, 368. The same applies to the authors of brief monographs and synthetic works on Serbian medieval art. Only Babić, *Nizovi portreta*, 322–324, studied thoroughly the representations of Serbian archbishops and bishops of Moravica and explained the portraits of Vladislav and Urošic, Babić, *O jednom vidu investiture vladara*, 158.

The contents of other Arilje frescoes were not the subject of greater scholarly attention. True, some of them were included already in Millet's studies of the iconography of gospel scenes (Millet, *Recherches*, 123, 229, 271). The same manner of investigation of these frescoes, iconographical in nature, was to continue in other works: Wratislav-Mitrović et Okunev, *La Dormition*, 148–149, involved the Dormition from Arilje in broader considerations of this theme; Walter, *L'iconographie des conciles*, 109–110, did the same with the Ecumenical Councils; Babić, *Živopisani ukras*, 25–26, and Hamann-Mac Lean, *Grundlegung*, 119, 125, 159, with the frescoes surrounding the iconostasis and the Sacrifice of Abraham (Stefanescu, *L'illustration des liturgies*, 470 and Hamann-Mac Lean, *Grundlegung*, 185); in writing about the programme of lateral chapels, G. Babić took into consideration, among others, the parekklesion of St. Nicholas from Arilje (Babić, *Les chapelles*, 134), N. Ševčenko studied the cycle of this saint (Patterson-Ševčenko, *St. Nicholas*, 40, 66–69, 76–83, 104–114), and J. Lafontaine-Dosogne investigated scenes from the cycle of the Virgin (J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'Enfance de la Vierge dans l'Empire byzantin et en Occident*, I, Bruxelles 1964, 261, 273); the Tree of Jesse from Arilje was also considered in studies devoted to this theme (M. Garidis, *L'ange en cheval dans l'art byzantin*, Byzantion XLII, 1972, 34–35; Milanović, *The Tree of Jesse*, 48–59, passim) the same is true of the Communion including a representation of Judas (Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 88–93). An interpretation of the iconography of the representation of the winged St. John the Prodromos bearing his decpitated head and a scroll with the text of his Sticheron (M. Tatić-Djurić, *Ikona Jovana Krilatog iz Dečana*, Zbornik Narodnog muzeja VII, 1973, 39–52), while an explanation for the appearance of this and other saints in the south choir has been based on the prayer read during the carving of the particles at the Proskomide rite (Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 258). Finally, G. Babić (*Les croix*, 57) deciphered some of the inscriptions surrounding the painted crosses.

At first, the question of style, artistic merits and authors of Arilje's frescoes drew little attention of the researchers; in fact, only Radojčić, *Portreti*, 31–34; Okunev, *Aril'e*, 239–243 and N. L. Okunev, *Monumenta artis Serbicae*, III, Prague 1931, 7, considered these aspects. Only after the first cleaning of the frescoes, undertaken in 1955–1956, these problems became the focus of sholarly attention. Immediately upon the discovery of the slogan of Thessalonikan followers of Michael VIII, ΜΑΡΠΟΥ, and its deciphering (S. Radojčić, *Studije o umetnosti XIII veka*, 40–45; by the way, we should point out that the interpretation of this slogan as an abbreviation of a Serbian inscription reading "Merkurije ariljski – or arhijerej – počinu" /"Merkurije of Arilje – or archpriest – passed away"/ can not be accepted, contrary to what has been suggested by R. Nikolić, *Prilozi tumačenju srednjovekovnih natpisa i zapisa*, Raška baština 3, 1988, 43–48), the question of the painters came up. Already Radojčić concluded correctly that they came from Thessaloniki and, earlier still, identified them with the artists who decorated the church of the Peribleptos in Ohrid (Radojčić, *Majstori*, 27, note 48), a hypothesis which was not accepted in scientific circles just like the one claim-

ing that the wall paintings of Arilje were produced by Nikola and his brothers, Dobroslav and Georgije (Dj. Bošković, *O nekim našim graditeljima i slikarima iz prvih decenija XIV veka*, Starinar IX–X, 1959, 127). On the other hand, V. J. Djurić advised that nothing more than the origins of the artists can be deduced from this inscription found in Arilje (Djurić, *La peinture murale serbe au XIIIe siècle*, 156). Although the inscription served as a good pointer in the search for similar artistic creations, it proved to be of no greater use because, in Thessaloniki, monuments dating from the close of the XIII century have not been preserved. However, other monuments suspected to be the work of artists from Thessaloniki were investigated for analogies with the frescoes from Arilje, for example – the mosaics of the Parigoritissa church in Arta and the frescoes of the Omorphi Ecclisia in Athens (Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 258, note 46; Todić, *Arilje*, 39–42). However, assumptions that one of the painters from Arilje later worked in the church of St. Nicholas in Prilep (Hamann-Mac Lean – Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei*, 27; Hamann-Mac Lean, *Grundlegung*, 290, 300) or that he originally came from the Raška region (R. Nikolić, *Zapis o živopisu Arilja*, Glasnik DKS 5, 1981, 23–29; id., *Povodom sedamstogodišnjice fresko-slikarstva u Arilju, 1296–1996*, Glasnik DKS 20, 1996, 47–51) are unacceptable.

Several other texts are also devoted to the art of Arilje, texts studying its artistic values: Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 72–73; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 62; S. Petković, *Arilje*, pp. VII–X; Hamann-Mac Lean, *Grundlegung*, 342–345; Todić, *Arilje*, 27–43; *Istorija srpskog naroda*, I, 424–425 (V. J. Djurić); Todić, *Srpske freske*, 73–74, 77–78, 81–87; M. Čanak-Medić, *Sveti Ahilije u Arilju*, 33–50. All authors share the opinion that this painting does not rank among the best works of its era, that it displays rather pronounced oscillations in quality and even stylistic traits: this art is mostly related to the older art of the XIII century, still, and not only in the domain of iconography, it does introduce some novelties of the Palaiologan style. Such evaluations of Arilje's frescoes were also maintained by other authors who incorporated them into broader surveys of Serbian and Byzantine art: Demus, *Die Entstehung*, 1–63; P. Miljković-Pepek, *Sozdavanjeto na nov monumentalen stil vo XIII vek*, Razgledi 3 (1960), 235; D. Tasić in: *Srbija – znamenitosti i lepote*, Beograd 1965, 193; Lazarev, *Storia*, 302–303; A. Grabar, *L'art du Moyen âge en Europe orientale*, Paris – Baden-Baden 1968, 62; Radojčić, *Uzori i dela*, 132–133 et passim; Radojčić, *Klassizissmus*, 190; S. Radojčić, *Geschichte der serbischen Kunst*, Berlin 1969, 42.

On the other hand, some of the scholars investigated only certain elements of the frescoes from Arilje: P. Miljković-Pepek (*Poreklo jednog stilskog elementa na freskama Sv. Sofije u Ohridu*, ZRVI 5, 1958, 125–128; Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 157–159) asserted that the manner in which the figures are encircled with a white line is not of western provenance, as maintained by Okunev, *Aril'e*, 242–243; the painted architectural backdrop seen on the frescoes of Arilje was investigated by T. Velmans (*Le rôle du décor architectural et la représentation de l'espace dans la peinture des Paléologues*, CA XIV, 1964, 205) and Stojaković, *Arhitektonski prostor*, 120, 193 et passim, while the manner of illumination of the figures was studied by M. Čanak-Medić, *Svetlo na ariljskim zidnim slikama*, Zograf 19 (1988), 13–18.



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Arilje, *The Virgin with Christ*, 1295/1296

Peć

Church of the Holy Apostles



The oldest church of the Patriarchate complex at Peć was constructed around the middle of the XIII century on the location of a Byzantine basilica in a form which did not differ much from other churches of the Raška school. It was decorated in the days of bishop Arsenije, around 1260, and in several other instances in the period between the XIII and XVIII centuries. Around 1350, pilsters connected by an arch were constructed on the location of the eastern wall of the original narthex, or a bit further to the west, thus covering a part of the fresco decoration from the beginning of the XIV century. On the western wall there is an entrance with a window above it, transformed into a niche and covered with wall paintings in 1633/34. This produced a bay of rectangular groundplan covered by a longitudinal barrel vaul and without any window openings. On the architecture of this part of the church of the Holy Apostles cf. Djurić, *Pećka patrijaršija*, 26–29, drawings II–III, fig. 70 (V. Korać); M. Čanak-Medić, *L'architecture da la première moitié du XIIIe siècle. II. Les églises de Rascie*, Beograd 1995, 32-33.

The frescoes painted around 1300 covered all the walls and the vault of this space. They no longer exist on the north and a part of the west wall while some of the paintings on the south wall were repainted in 1356 and 1633/34. They were cleaned in the 1960's. The time of creation of the frescoes is not attested by an inscription or any other source so that we date them to the period around the year 1300, or shortly after that year, based only on their artistic qualities. The appearance of figures representing monks from the Nemanjid family gives us reason to presume that their ktetor was king Milutin.

The inscriptions on the frescoes are in Serbian.

The names of the painters are not known.

The preserved frescoes are distributed in the following manner: on the south part of the *vault* are the Washing of the Feet, Betrayal of Judas and Christ Tried Before Annas (which continues on the western wall), on the north part of the vault are Christ Tried Before Caiaphas, Peter's Denial and Christ Judged by Pilate. The cycle then continued on the lower south part of the vault but this part was repainted in the XVII century. Only Simon carrying the cross has been preserved on the *west wall* and it seems that a scene representing Christ before the Cross also stood there. In the bottom register, only the figures of Stefan Prvovenčani ("Stefan King monk Simeon") and Uroš I ("Stefan King Uroš monk Symeon") in monastic habit have survived on the *south wall* while the *west wall* displays two large half-figures of the Virgin with Christ and St. Nicholas and, located above the entrance, half-figures of Sts. Constantine and Helena holding the cross between them.

The state of publication of these frescoes is satisfactory: Petković, *La peinture serbe,* II, 41, pl. LXXXII–LXXXV; Petković, *Pregled,* 250; Hamann-Mac Lean – Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei*, 24, Plan 14–15; R. Ljubinković, *Crkva Svetih apostola u Pećkoj patrijaršiji*, Beograd 1973, figs. 38–59 (published reproductions of all the frescoes); Djurić, *Pećka patrijaršija*, figs. 70–75 (colour reproductions). At first they were dated to the broad framework of the XIV century (V. R. Petković) or the beginning of that century (P. Mijović, *Pećka patrijaršija*, Beograd 1960, 11), and later to the period around 1330 (R. Hamman-Mac Lean and H. Hallensleben) while some of them were associated with archbishop Sava III (R. Ljubinković). Radojčić opted for the late XIII century (Radojčić, *Slikarstvo,* 74; S. Radojčić, *Die Entstehung der Malerei der Paläologischen Renaissance*, JÖBG VII, 1958, 113), while

V. J. Djurić (Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 67; Djurić, *Pećka patrijaršija*, 121–130) and S. Petković (*The Patriarchate of Peć*, Belgrade 1982, 12–13) date them more cautiously to the period around 1300, which seems to be more acceptable.

These frescoes were studied most thoroughly by Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 74–75, who investigated their style from the viewpoint of its relation to antique models, mostly based on the scenes of Christ's passions, and he repeated his observations in other instances as well: S. Radojčić, *Die Entstehung der Malerei der paläologischen Renaissance*, 113–114; id., *La pittura in Serbia e in Macedonia dall inizio del secolo XII fino alla metà del secolo XV*, X Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina, Ravenna 1963, 306–310; id., *Geschichte der serbischen Kunst*, Berlin 1969, 41–42. After him, Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 67–68 and, more thoroughly in Djurić, *Pećka patrijaršija*, 121–130, focused his attention on all the preserved frescoes and studied not only their style but also their iconography while offering, at the same time, a conclusive interpretation of images of Nemanjid monks. Both Radojčić and Djurić, as well as other authors who wrote about these frescoes (R. Ljubinković, *Crkva Svetih apostola u Peći*, pp. XV–XIX; S. Petković, *The Patriarchate of Peć*, 12–13), agreed that they expressedly display traits of the transitional style. Recently, V. J. Djurić placed them among other Byzantine monuments of the same type: Djurić, *La peinture byzantine vers 1300*, 68–70.

The stylistic and iconographic likeness between these frescoes and other works of art created around 1300 prompted the researchers to look for parallels in the church of the Virgin Peribleptos in Ohrid (Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 74; Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 227–228; R. Ljubinković, *Crkva Svetih apostola u Peći*, pp. XVII; S. Petković, *The Patriarchate of Peć*, 13) as well as in the Protaton and other contemporary churches (Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 67–68; Djurić, *La peinture byzantine vers 1300*, 70). At one point, Radojčić even assumed that the artists from Ohrid worked in Peć (S. Radojčić, *La pittura in Serbia e in Macedonia*, 306), and even Djurić considered the possibility that Michael and Eutychios could be the authors of these frescoes which, in his opinion, would thus actually represent the first work the two painters produced in Serbia (Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 67–68; Djurić, *Pećka patrijaršija*, 130). Later on, however, the same author was more cautious in claiming that the authors of these frescoes from Peć belong to the circle of artists associated with the Ohrid Peribleptos and the Protaton (Djurić, *La peinture byzantine vers 1300*, 70). A similar conclusion – namely that their author was a painter close to Michael and Eutychios but not actually identical with either one of the two – was stated by Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 227–228; the work of this artist is most similar to the creations of an anonymous painter from Žiča (Miljković-Pepek, *O poznatim i anonimnim slikarima*, 48–51).



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Peć, Holy Apostles, *King Uroš as a monk Symeon*, detail, around 1300

Sušica near Skoplje

Church of the Virgin



The church is now dedicated to St. Nicholas but it has long since been established that its patron saint had been changed at an undetermined date, cf. J. Hadži Vasiljević, *Skoplje i njegova okolina,* Beograd 1930, 444; K. Balabanov, *Komu e posvetena crkvata, na sv. Nikola ili na sv. Bogorodica?,* Vesnik na muzejsko-konzervatorskoto društvo na NR Makedonija 1 (1955), 16. Both the identity of the ktetor and the date of construction remain unknown.

The groundplan of the church has the form of an elongated rectangle with two apses, a shallow niche appears on the south wall of the altar space and the church is covered by a barrel vault (briefly on the architecture of the church in L. Mirković – Ž. Tatić, *Markov manastir,* Novi Sad 1925, 29, fig. 29). Around the middle of the XIV century a narthex with an entrance on its south side was added to the church and portraits of unidentified ktetors painted on that same facade, barely visible today (cf. Djordjević, *Zidno slikarstvo,* 167).

The frescoes are better preserved on the walls of the sanctuary and the naos while only random traces remain on the vault. They have recently been cleaned and properly conserved.

The few preserved inscriptions are Slavonic, of an archaic orthography.

The authors of the frescoes are not known.

We date these frescoes to the period around 1310, slightly different from presently accepted assumptions. Should we disregard the earlierst incidental notes on them, including unfounded datings, historiography has acknowledged as standard the dating which associates their creation with the close of the XIII or the beginning of the XIV century. Considering their iconographic and, even more, stylistic features, Gordana Babić (Babić, *Sušica,* 338–339) dated the frescoes in question to precisely that period and her opinion was accepted by S. Radojčić (Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 76–77: "they probably belong to the very close of the XIII century") and V. J. Djurić (Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 67: "das es sich hierbei um Werke handelt, die ganz am Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts enstanden sind").

Preserved frescoes.

Sanctuary

On the vault are parts of the Ascension of Christ. In the apse stands the Virgin of the Signs and, below her, the Celebration of Holy Liturgy of which only two rhypidia bearing angels and Sts. Basil and John Chrysostomos with scrolls have been preserved. This composition unfolded on the walls as well, as attested by an unknown bishop by the apse, St. Cyril of Alexandria on the south wall, with the opening verses of the "Meet is it in very truth" prayer read at the liturgy written out on his scroll, a bishop with the text of the Prayer below the chancel steps and yet another unidentified bishop on the north wall whose scroll apparently displayed the words of the First Prayer of the Faithful. The processions of bishops ended with the figures of two archpriests represented in a frontal stance. The Descent of the Holy Spirit (?) was painted on the east wall, in the lower zone stood half-figures of saints in medallions interconnected by foliage rinceau and directly above the apse the Mandelion. Representations of the Annunciation and Visitation appeared on either side of the apse with scenes from the cycle of the Virgin below them. In the prothesis apse stands a half-figure of a deacon, the south wall held the Nativity and, in a niche in the bottom register, an enthroned Virgin with Christ.

Naos

Other Great Feasts were located in the uppermost register of the walls and probably on the vault. The Dormition and Entry into Jerusalem have been preserved on the west wall. Above them stood medallions with half-figures of saints, as seen already in the sanctuary. The lower zone, including all the walls, was reserved for scenes from the cycle of the Virgin which, rather unusually, began on the north wall with the Refusal of the Offerings and, following a number of now destroyed scenes, continued on the same wall and in the altar space with the Birth of the Virgin. Part of this scene appeared on the east wall which also included the Blessings of the Three Priests. The cycle continued on the south wall with the Virgin Caressed by Her Parents, the Virgin's First Steps, Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple and Mary Given Away to Joseph, of which only small fragments have survived. The Annunciation at the Well was the last scene represented on the south wall. Finally, the closing scenes of the cycle are located on the west wall: Drinking of the Water of Purification, Virgin Receiving the Skein of Purple Wool and Joseph Reproaching the Virgin. The bottom register was filled with standing single figures of saints: three holy warriors and an unknown saint on the south wall, two holy doctors and Sts. Constantine and Helena on the west (remains of two figures of saints are visible on the doorposts); figures of four holy warriors are only barely visible on the north wall.

A rather well preserved Virigin of Tenderness type is represented in the niche above the entrance.

The only more complete list of frescoes, with minor omissions and some wrongly identified compositions, has been put together by G. Babić who also published practically all the better preserved frescoes (Babić, *Sušica,* 303–339, sch. I–II, fig. 2–9, dess. 1–3). She investigated their iconography on a broad basis (the cycle of the Virgin was befittingly discussed also by J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'Enfance de la Vierge dans l'Empire byzantin et en Occident,* I, Bruxelles 1964, 46, 113, 123, 126, 183, 203), at the same time pointing out the uniqueness of their style in comparison with contemporary achievements from Serbia and the territory of Macedonia. In another instance (Babić, *Les croix,* 6), she deciphered the abbreviations surrounding the painted cross. In their studies of frescoes from Sušica, S. Radojčić and V. J. Djurić devoted most of their attention to the artistic qualities of the paintings (Radojčić, *Slikarstvo,* 76–77; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 67, 259). The first author noted that the girls appearing in scenes related to the Virgin are dressed according to Constantinopolitan fashion of the late XIII century and that the qualities of these frescoes place them at half-way point between the Ohrid church of the Peribleptos and Kraljeva crkva from Studenica. The other author saw in the frescoes of Sušica elements of a strong tradition of the Raška school.

Frescoes from Sušica were noticed already by P. N. Miljukov (*Hristianskie drevnosti Zapadnoj Makedonii*, Izvestija Russkogo arheologičeskogo instituta v Konstantinopole IV/2, 1899, 136) who believed that the church dated from the XVI–XVII century; they were mentioned by P. J. Popović (*Prilog za studiju stare srpske crkvene arhitekture,* Starinar 1, 1923, 114) and observed more carefully L. Mirković who dated them to the second half of the XIV century (*Još nešto iz Markova manastira kod Skoplja,* GSND I, 1925, 304–307). J. Hadži Vasiljević (*Skoplje i njegova okolina,* 444) was the first to draw attention to the image of the Virgin above the entrance while assuming that the church was dedicated to her, as repeated later by Balabanov (*Komu e posvetena crkva,* 16), who also dated the wall paintings to the XIV–XV century.

Opinions stated by S. Radojčić and G. Babić that these frescoes date from the close of the XIII or the begining of the XIV century were substantiated by V. J. Djurić who observed that the inscriptions on them are written in an archaic redaction of the Slavonic language, probably used by the lower clergy (on the use of the Slavonic language of both Serbian and Bulgarian redactions in the regions of the Serbian state in the environs of Skoplje following 1282 cf. R. M. Grujić, *Skopska mitropolija*, Skoplje 1935, 182–184; B. Koneski, *Crkvenoslovenskiot jazik na freskite vo Makedonija,* Simpozium 1100-godišninata od smrtta na Kiril Solunski, II, Skopje 1970, 97–104, and on the example from Sušica on pg. 101; N. Džumurova-Janjatova, *Odrazot na srpskata redakcija na crkveno-slovenskiot jazik vrz natpisite, signaturite i svitocite vo nekoi crkvi vo Severna Makedonija,* Kulturno nasledstvo VI, 1975, 57–63; V. Mošin, *Gramotite na manastirot Sv. Georgi-Gorg skopski,* Spomenici na Makedonija, I, 97–115) and that mention of a priest in Sušica appears in Milutin's charter issued to the monastery of St. Georgios Gorgos in 1299/1300, which would imply that this church had already existed at that date. The first argument only proves that the frescoes from Sušica were really painted after 1282 while the other was later discarded because it turned out that the Sušica mentioned in king Milutin's charter is not identical with the village housing the church of the Virgin (V. Mošin – K. Ilievska – A. Slaveva, *Gramoti na manastirot Sv. Georgi-Gorg skopski,* Spomenici na Makedonija, I, 228). In fact, Sušica is a frequent toponym and can hardly be ubicated without more precise attributes. For example, it is known that, around 1308–1310, a man by the name of Radin Nagoričanin from Žegligovo copied almost all the liturgical book required by some Bulgarian priest who served in Sušica, most probably in the vicinty of Skoplje, on the lands of kaznac Jovan Dragoslav (*SSZN*, I, 15–16; R. M. Grujić, *Skopska mitropolija*, 182; on a new dating of Radin's inscription *Vizantijski izvori*, VI, 173, note 52 – S. Ćirković), which could be associated with the Sušica in question here. Our dating of the frescoes is, however, only approximate and based most of all on their iconographic and artistic traits.

Žiča

Church of the Saviour



The church was raised by great jupanus Stefan and was first decorated with wall paintings in 1220–1221, at which time it became the see of the autocephalous Serbian archbishopric. Around 1230 an exonarthex with an entrance tower including a parekklesion on its upper floor was added to the church. The monastery was devastated in the last decade of the XIII century in an attact of Bulgarians and Tartars, and its restoration was entrusted to the care of archbishops Jevstatije II (1292–1309), Sava III (1309–1316) and Danilo II (1324–1337). Together with Peć, Žiča remained the see of Serbian archbishops (and, after 1346, patriarchs) and became deserted in the XVIII century. It was renovated in the following century and in three instances during the XX century. It was last devastated during World War II when the north-west part of the church was torn down. On the history of the monastery cf. V. R. Petković, *Manastir Žiča – historija,* Beograd 1911; Mijović, *Žiča,* 5–52 (M. Kašanin); M. Čanak-Medić – O. Kandić, *L'architecture de la première moitié du XIIIe siècle. I, Eglises de Rascie*, Beograd 1995, 15–25.

Originally, the church had the form of a single-naved vaulted structure with a dome and a large apse in the altar space, choirs flanking the central space of the naos, a narthex with two adjacent parekklesia, dedicated to St. Stephen (south) and St. Sabas the Sanctified (north). The wall dividing the naos and the old narthex was torn down when an exonarthex with a tower was added to the church in the 1230's. Most clearly on the architecture of the church: Mijović, *Žiča,* 58–98 (Dj. Bošković); M. Čanak-Medić, *Arhitektura žičke Spasove crkve i Radoslavljeve priprate*, Saopštenja XXIV (1992), 4–47; M. Čanak-Medić – O. Kandić, *L'architecture de la première moitié du XIIIe siècle. I, Eglises de Rascie*, 25–75.

Of the earliest decoration only a few frescoes remain in the naos and of those dating from around 1230 in the room on the upper floor of the tower. Other surfaces of the church interior were covered with new wall paintings at the beginning of the XIV century. According to one hypothesis, the sanctuary and the naos of the church, including all adjoining spaces, were decorated in the days of archbishop Jevstatije II while the frescoes of the exonarthex and the entrance under the tower were commissioned by Sava III (Mijović, *Žiča,* 26–27 – M. Kašanin). Another opinion has it that all the frescoes date from the time of Sava III (Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 96–97; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 68 and note 50). It seems, however, that G. Subotić (*Žiča Monastery*, Belgrade 1988, 32) is most accurate in stating that the decorating of this church lasted longer, that it began during the last years of the episcopate of Jevstatije II, whose merits in the restoration of Žiča are attested by archbishop Danilo II, *Životi*, 283, and was completed in the days of Sava III, whose portrait, together with that of king Milutin, has been preserved in the entrance portico. Thus, one can be least mistaken if the frescoes of Žiča are dated to the period around 1310. Only parts of those frescoes have been preserved in the sanctuary, random patches on the walls of the naos, in the south and north parekklesion, inconsiderable fragments in the exonarthex and much more and in a better state in the passage under the tower. Some of the frescoes which no longer exist were seen, described and their existance recorded by the first researchers, cf. S. Bogdanović, *Mihailo Valtrović i Dragutin Milutinović kao istraživači srpskih starina,* Izlozi Srpskog učenog društva, Beograd 1978; Petković, *Žiča* (I–II), 160–173; *Žiča* (IV), 27–106; Petković, *Spasova crkva u Žiči*. The frescoes were conserved in 1965–1967 (B. Živković, *Konzervatorski radovi na živopisu manastira Žiče*, Raška baština 1, 1975, 269–272, including a list of the wall paintings).

The inscriptions on the frescoes are in Serbian.

The painters are unknown. Although there is an assumption that one of them signed his name on the hiton on St. Theodore of Stoudion (Miljković-Pepek, *O poznatim*

i anonimnim slikarima, 50–51; G. Subotić, *Žiča Monastery*, 29), the text of that inscription is difficult to decipher today.

Even with the data gathered by its first scholars, today the programme of Žiča's fresco decoration of king Milutin's age can be perceived only partly.

Sanctuary

In the apse, frescoes have been preserved below the moulded cornice. On either side of the window there are four figures of bishops carrying unrolled scrolls taking part in the Celebration of Holy Liturgy: the sroll of the first in line (St. Gregory the Theologian?, Petković, *Žiča*, IV, 68–69, fig. 21) bears the opening words of the prayer over the offertory-table, on the scroll of St. Athanasios of Alexandria (Petković, *Žiča*, IV, 68) is the Prayer after the Communion while the prayer of the Small Entrance appears on the scroll of the third figure; the first of the four bishops on the south side is St. Cyril of Alexandria (name not preserved) and his is the only scroll with a decipherable text, namely the opening words of the prayer of the Second Antiphon. Half-figures of holy bishops encased in frames resembling icons appear under this composition: the first has a tonsure and no preserved name, those following him are Metrophanes, Methodios, Nicephoros, Tharasios, James Brother of the Lord, Proclus and Phocas; finally, above the synthronos are twelve squares filled with geometric and floral ornaments.

On the north wall, surrounding the window, one of two bishops (Petković, *Žiča*, IV, 68) is preserved and, in a lower register, two equally damaged fresco-icons with half-figures of holy bishops; next to the apse stand the remains of a stylite and, under him, an unidentified deacon. South of the apse we also find a stylite and, under him, a deacon (Euplus, Petković, *Žiča*, IV, 70); on the south wall are the remains of two figures of bishops, two more around the window (the name John is preserved by the first), and in the lowest register are two half-figures of bishops in frames resembling icons and a part of a figure of some saint.

On the north-east pilaster stands a preserved figure of the prophet Aaron, an unknown bishop and St. Timothy below him and, in the bottom register, an angel-deacon. On the south-east pilasters are prophets Melchizedek and Moses, below them two bishops and, in the lowest register, an angel-deacon. On the soffit of the arch connecting the pilasters are half-figures of bishops in colourful medallions. There are ten such medallions and the names of Sts. Porphyrius, Sosthenes (marked also as Trophimus), Sosipatrus (also marked as Aristarchos) and Hermias.

Naos

In the drum of the dome only the feet of the apostles and the Virgin from the scene of the Ascension have been preserved. The evangelists are on the pendentives: John on the south-east, Luke on the south-west, Mark on the north-west and Matthew on the north-east, three of them have preserved opening verses of their gospels on their scrolls. Between the pendentives, on the east, is the Mandelion and, on the opposite side, a barely visible Keramion while half-figures of angels in medallions appear on the north and south side.

Space under the dome. On the front of the triumphal arch is the Annunciation to the Virgin, under it the prophets David and Solomon and two figures of Old Testament righteous. At the top of the south wall is the Pentecost and on the intrados of the arch are medallions filled with half-figures of martyrs Peter, Helladius and others. On the east side of the arch spanning the space between the two western pilasters is a part of the Last Supper and, on the arch, two medallions with images of martyrs (originally there were more, among them are Sts. Pegasius and Probus, Petković, *Žiča*, IV, 62). On the north wall, below the medallions with the images of nine martyrs on the soffit of the arch, among whom only St. Alympius, is known by name is the Annunciation to Zachary while the Mission of the Apostles (M. Valtrović – D. Milutinović, *Izlozi Srpskog učenog društva*, 198) and the Incredulity of Thomas once stood below this scene. On the south and the north wall, under those scenes, are figures of prophets with scrolls, only two on either side have been preserved (Elijah and Daniel on the north).

By the iconostasis, in the lowest register of the piers stand the figures of the Virgin with Christ and Christ surmounted by painted arches and those of Sts. Stephen the Protomartyr and Demetrios, on the south wall, and Sts. George and Sabas the Sanctified, on the north, also surmounted by painted arches.

Of the frescoes dating from the XIV century only parts of the Transfiguration are visible on the vault of the south choir and, perhaps, parts of the Descent into Hades on the south wall of the same space.

On the east side of the south-west pilaster were three prophets (among them also Habbakuk, Petković, *Žiča*, IV, 64), half-figures of three martyrs and, in the bottom zone, the Virgin of Passion with an angel carrying the cross, sponge and spear; on the front of the same pilaster is a martyr in the uppermost zone, a half-figure of another martyr in the central register and one standing figure of a martyr in the bottom register; on the west side, the two upper zones are filleed with images of two martyrs in full figure and half-figure while St. Nicholas appears in the bottom register.

On the north-west pilaster there are no preserved frescoes. This spot once housed figures of saints fully symmetrical with those on the opposite pilaster: Old Testament figures in the uppermost zone, half-figures of saints with oriental head-dresses and, in the bottom register, a martyr, a deacon beside him and an unknown saint on the south side; the uppermost register of the west side was filled with

a saint in full figure, the central register with a half-figure of a martyr and the bottom with St. John the Prodromos (M. Valtrović – D. Milutinović, *Izlozi Srpskog učenog društva*, 197, 198, 205, 210; Petković, *Žiča*, IV, 46–47, 64–65, figs 12, 19).

West part of the naos. Frescoes are preserved only on the walls. In the upper zone of the south wall are fragments of the Entry into Jerusalem, in the bottom register St. Eusthatios (Petković, *Žiča*, IV, 43, fig. 8) and three other damaged figures of holy warriors; on the east and the north side of the west pilaster are fragments of two other warriors (Petković, *Žiča*, IV, fig. 9); on the west side of the pilaster and on the south wall there were seven figures of monks. Almost the entire surface of the west wall is taken up by the Dormition while in the bottom register we find three holy doctors to the left and the Synaxis of the Archangels to the right of the entrance. Holy monks also stood on the north wall of the west bay, seven figures all together (among them some holy poets as well); further on towards the east were holy warriors with swords and crosses (Petković, *Žiča*, IV, 45, figs. 10–11), Although once present in far greater number, their line stretching all the way to the north-western pilaster of the space beneath the dome (Petković, *Žiča*, IV, 44–45), only two on the south and east side of the pilaster are visible today.

South parekklesion (St. Stephen)

At the summit of the apse is a damaged image of the Virgin (her arms originally stretched out, Petković, *Žiča*, IV, 79) surrounded by archangels, Michael and the now damaged Gabriel. Below them is the Celebration of Holy Liturgy including the figures of Sts. Gregory, Basil, John Chrysostomos (Petković, *Žiča,* IV, 77, fig. 29) and Athanasios. Distributed around the apse is the Annunciation and the figures of three holy deacons: an unknown saint, Lawrence and Abibus. Of the frescoes under the dome only the image of an Old Testament high priest remains on the south-west pendentive and a half-figure of an angel in a medallion on the south side. On the arch by the west wall are traces of some martyr. At the top of the south wall is the Crucifixion, below it the Translation of Relics of St. Stephen and, in the bottom register, frontally positioned figures of holy bishops Metrophanes and Gregory of Nyssa as well as those of Sts. Demetrios and George, dressed in ornate chlamidae and holding crosses. On the west wall is a part of a scene from the cycle of St. Stephen (Invention of the Relics?) and in the bottom register the images of Sts. Procopios and Artemios in ornate chlamidae while St. John Calybites (Petković, *Žiča*, IV, 83, fig. 31) in half-figure appears in the lunette above the western entrance. The cycle of St. Stephen begins on the north wall (from right to left: Judgement of Stephen, Stephen Lead to Execution, Stoning of Stephen); a half-figure of an unknown saint appears in the lunette above the entrance and, further on, frontal, standing figures of Sts. Nicholas and Stephen and, in the altar, those of St. Tarasios (Petković, *Žiča*, IV, 83–84) and an unknown bishop.

North parekklesion (St. Sabas the Sanctified)

Only a few of its frescoes have been preserved, most of them were destroyed during the last war (cf. Petković, *Žiča*, IV, 73–77, figs. 27, 28). The apse was once decorated with an image of the Amnos on a paten with a chalice beside it standing on an altar table flanked by two bishops with arms outstetched and no scrolls; around the apse were figures of three frontally positioned bishops (only the one next to the apse is discernible today). The pendentives were decorated with images of Old Testament high priest of which only Melchizedek is better visible today. The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple (cf. Mijović, *Žiča*, 170) and a part of another scene were once visible on the north wall under the dome. It appears that the cycle of St. Sabas the Sanctified unfolded on all the walls, in the lower register of frescoes. Only insignificant traces of it remain and even the once best visible scene of Death of St. Sabas has been destroyed in the meantime. In the bottom register, on the south wall, stand even now the figures of Sts. Athanasios the Athonite, Euthymios, Sabas the Sanctified and Anthony encased in a painted arcade; a small trace of a half-figure of some saint remains in the lunette above the entrance. On the west wall, in the lunette, the half-figure of St. John was once better preserved. In the same zone of the north wall, the frontally positioned figures of St. Spyridon and deacon Romanus no longer exist in the altar space.

Narthex

Only a part of the Tree of Jesse has been preserved on the west wall. Once there were also some frescoes around the entrance to the south parekklesion: St. Stephen the Protomartyr (?) in the lunette and a couple of representations related to the Baptism of Christ (Petković, *Žiča*, IV, 85–86, fig. 35).

Passage under the tower

On the vault is the Martyrdom of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste while the lateral walls display the inscribed words of two charters issued to Žiča by Stefan Prvovenčani and king Radoslav. On the intrados of the western entrance are representations of apostles Peter and Paul and, above them, on the east sidê, the scene "If you should not be as this child". Above the entrance to the narthex, on the east wall, is the text of the Christmas hymn and, below this incription, its illustration which also includes the portraits of Sava III ("Sava Right Reverend Archbishop of all Serbian land and the Littoral") and king Milutin ("Stefan King Uroš sovereign of all Serbian land and the Littoral") with his entourage; in a lower register, around the entrance, are images of kings Radoslav ("King Radoslav") and Stefan Prvovenčani.

Because of the significant place it holds in the history of the Serbian people, Žiča became the focus of scholarly interest early on (cf. D. Davidović, *Žiča, monastir u Srbiji*, Letopis serbski II, 1828, 9–22 and the reports of M. Valtrović and D. Milutinović in: Glasnik SUD 39, 1873, 328–329; Glasnik SUD 46, 1878, 253–254; Glasnik SUD 52, 1883, 265–267; Glasnik SUD 53, 1883, 237–238, and also *Izlozi Srpskog učenog društva,* 54, 98, 121–122, 124, 126, 141–144 et passim), its frescoes were precisely catalogued and a large number of them published: Petković, *Žiča* (I–II), 160–173; Petković, *Žiča* (III), figs. 2, 11–12, 17; Petković, *Žiča* (IV), 27–106, figs. 1–3, 5, 8–12, 15–38, 40–49; Petković, *Saborna crkva u Žiči*, 21–88, figs. on pp. 26, 30, 32–33, 37, 54–57, 59, 67, 69–70, 72, 74, 76, 81, 82, 86; Petković, *La peinture serbe*, I, pl. 5/a–c; II, 20–22, pl. XXXIV–XLI; Petković, *Pregled*, 121–123; Millet – Frolow, *La peinture,* I, pl. 48–52, 54, 56–61; Hamann-Mac Lean – Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei*, 31, Abb. 213–220, Plan 26a–b; Mijović, *Žiča*, 124–200 and figs. on pp. 6–7, 15, 29–35, 37–41, 124–181, 183–191, 193–195, 197–198; Velmans, *La peinture murale,* 172–173; G. Subotić, *Žiča Monastery*, 17–32, figs. on pp. 7, 19, 21–23, 25, 27–31, 33–37, 43; B. Živković, *Žiča. Les dessins des fresques*, Beograd 1985.

Already Petković, *Žiča* (IV) and *Saborna crkva u Žiči*, distinguished correctly the older layers of frescoes from those of the XIV century and investigated their iconography, a task carried out in greater detail by Mijović *Žiča,* 124–220. Equally important for the study of Žiča's frescoes are works dedicated to the questions of their subject matter. The uncommon programme of the space beneath the dome – closest to that found in the Holy Apostles at Peć from around 1260 – inspired assumptions that the painters who worked in Žiča in the first decades of the XIV century for the most part repeated older paintings and proof was sought in the choice of themes associated with Jerusalem and the church on Zion, Djurić, *La peinture murale serbe au XIII*[e] *siècle,* 162–163; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 68 and note 50; V. J. Djurić, *Sveti Sava i slikarstvo njegovog doba*, Sava Nemanjić – saint Sava, Histoire et tradition, Beograd 1979, 252–253; B. Todić, *Najstarije zidno slikarstvo u Sv. apostolima u Peći*, Zbornik LU 18 (1982), 20–28, 37–38; Djurić, *Pećka patrijaršija*, 48–51; Todić, *Sionskaja cerkov'*, 34–36. More evidence that the younger frescoes imitated the programme of the older layer is found in the fact that likenesses can also be established with other monuments of the XIII century which were created under the auspices of Sava (B. Todić, *Mileševa i Žiča – tematske i ikonografske paralele*, Mileševa dans l'histoire du peuple serbe, Beograd 1987, 81–88). The representation of the Christmas hymn located above the entrance to Žiča was another subject which drew particular attetention of the scholars, due both to its iconography and the images of king Milutin and archbishop Sava III incorporated into this scene: Radojčić, *Portreti,* 34–35; Mijović, *Žiča,* 190–196; Djurić, *Portrety*, 244–255; Hamann-Mac Lean, *Grundlegung*, 189–190; Velmans, *La peinture murale,* 77–78; N. K. Moran, *Singers in Late Byzantine and Slavonic Painting,* Leiden 1986, 125; Orlova, *"Čto Ti prinesem, Hriste"*, 127–140. Both in connection with this composition and unrelated to it, other frescoes especially the representations of kings Prvovenčani and Radoslav, have also been the subject of different texts: Radojčić, *Portreti,* 35; V. J. Djurić, *Portreti na poveljama vizantijskih i srpskih vladara,* Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta VII/1 (1963), 261 (= *Portreti vizantijskih i srpskih vladara s poveljama*, Esfigmenska povelja despota Djurdja, Beograd 1989, 40–41); Mijović, *Žiča*, 182–198; Hamann-Mac Lean, *Grundlegung,* 187–190; Milošević, *Srbi svetitelji,* 199, 230–231; Z. Gavrilović, *The Forty Martyrs of Sebaste in the Painted Programme of Žiča Vestibule,* JÖB 32/5 (1985), 185–193. The theme of the Virgin of Passion was investigated already by Petković, *Žiča* (IV), 63–64; Mijović, *Žiča*, 155 et passim; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 261 (note 50). The decoration of the lateral parekklesia and the cycles of Sts. Stephen and Sabas the Sanctified were investigated by G. Babić, *Chapelles latérales des églises serbe du XIII*[e] *siècle et leurs décor peint,* L'art byzantin du XIII[e] siècle, Beograd 1967, 181–182, 186 and Babić, *Les chapelles,* 145–146; Ćorović-Ljubinković, *Odraz kulta sv. Stefana*, 50–51; Hamann-Mac Lean, *Grundlegung*, 158–159; V. J. Djurić, *Sveti Sava i slikarstvo njegovog doba*, 249–250; Babić, *Živopisani ukras,* 23. Themes found in the west part of the church were studied by Babić, *Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*, 112–113, 116, while some of Žiča's frescoes (Last Supper, Christmas hymn, Annunciation to Zachary) were included already by Millet in his considerations of evangelical scenes in late Byzantine art, Millet, *Recherches*, 19, 68, 406.

The artistic values of the frescoes from Žiča have been studied to a somewhat lesser extent. Based on different methods, they were investigated by V. R. Petković, S. Radojčić, P. Mijović, H. Hallensleben, V. J. Djurić and others. Petković (*Žiča*, IV, 95–100 = *Spasova crkva u Žiči*, 92–102) offered a careful description of the frescoes and concluded that they date from the XVI century, thus agreeing with a much older opinion of M. Valtrović (Glasnik SUD, 46, 1878, 250). Radojčić noted the likenesses between Žiča's frescoes and the decoration of Bogorodica Ljeviška (Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 96–98), a point further developed by Hallensleben, *Die Malerschule*, 161–163, who ascribed them to the painter Astrapas (on the other hand, Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 228 was inclined to considered these frescoes – closest to those of the west bay of the Holy Apostles at Peć – a creation of an anonymous painter, close to Michael Astrapas and Eutychios); Mijović (*Žiča*, 124–199, in particular 124 and 165–168), interested most of all in the iconography of the frescoes, dwelled only briefly on their artistic values but did establish a strict stylistic distinction between the frescoes of the naos and the

sanctuary and those of the exonarthex and the entrance portico pointing out pronounced oscillations between monumental and narrative concepts of its authors while associating only the decoration of the portico with Ljeviška and regarding their authors as identical; Djurić also believed that some painters from Ljeviška did work in Žiča although not Michael and Eutychios but rather their assistants and that the monumentality in the appearance of Žiča's frescoes was the result of copying of both the distribution and the dimensions of paintings from the XIII century (Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 69); G. Babić (*Istorija srpskog naroda*, I, 480–481) and V. J. Djurić (*La peinture byzantine vers 1300*, 71–72) determined the place of the fresco decoration of Žiča within a group of Byzantine and Serbian monuments dating from the period between 1301 and 1313 which exemplify the search for new directions leading to early XIV century classicism. Having considered all of the above stated opinions on the frescoes from Žiča, G. Subotić (*Žiča Monastery*, 26–32) dated them correctly to the period around 1310 and pointed out that the lack of uniformity they display is the result of the work of several painters gathered around Michael and Eutychios.

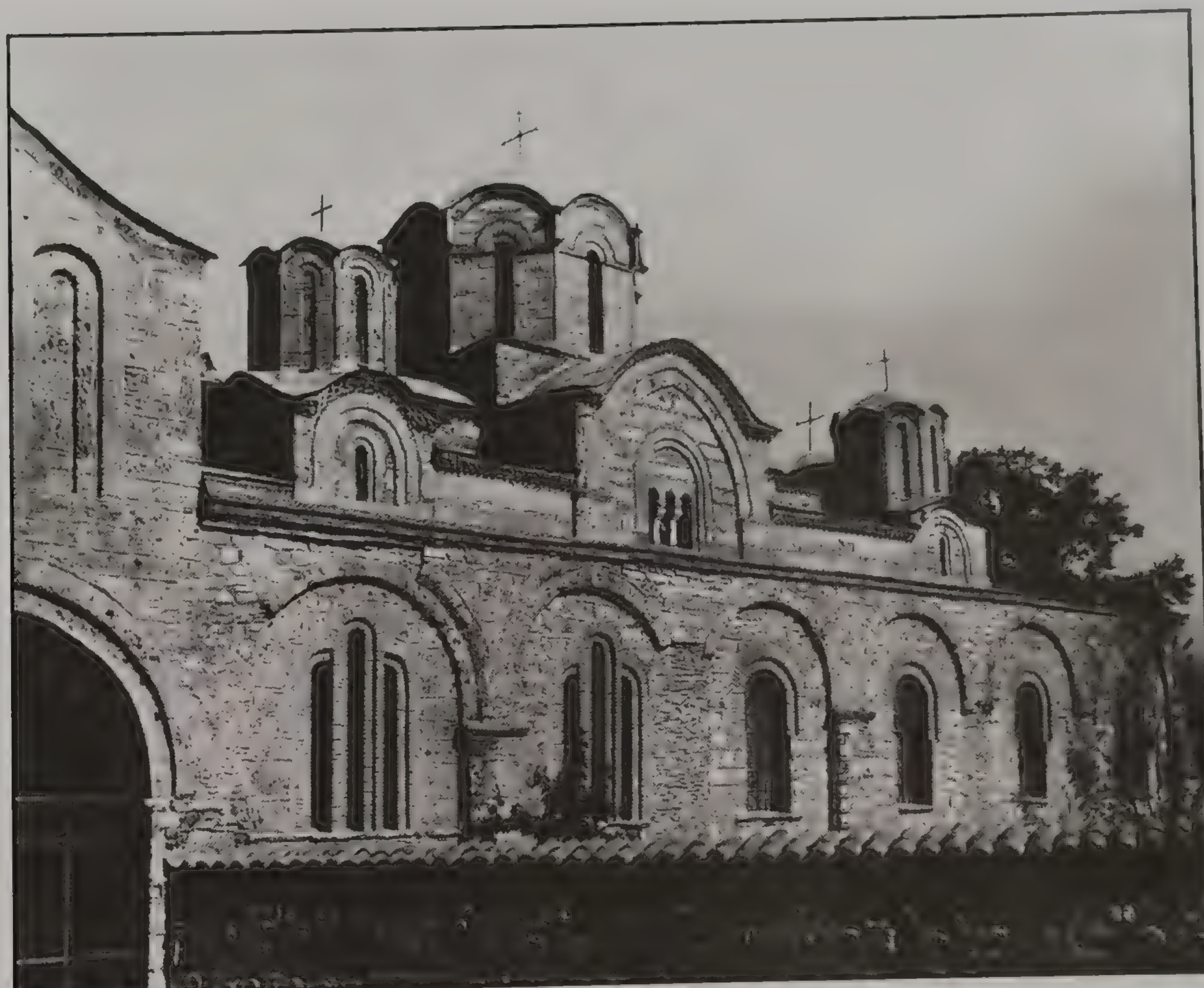
Apart from these major questions – of chronology, iconography and style – other aspects of the frescoes from Žiča were also discussed in other instances, within broader surveys of Serbian and Byzantine art or specific interesting themes, see the note on the historiography of the subject in Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 260–261, note 50 and a list of the most important works in G. Subotić, *Žiča Monastery*, 44–46. Recently, a number of participants of a congress focused on Žiča, held in 1995, communicated the latest results of their study of early XIV century frescoes from this monastery.



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Žiča, *Holy doctor*, 1309–1310

Prizren

Bogorodica Ljeviška



King Milutin raised the cathedral of the bishopric of Prizren upon an old basilica from the IX–X century which had already been restored by his ancestors in the XIII century. Today there are only architectural remains of the oldest church (probably dedicated to the Virgin Eleussa, A. Loma, *O imenu Bogorodice Ljeviške,* Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta XVI–A, 1989, 91–99) as well as several frescoes from the XIII century restoration (V. J. Djurić, *Jedna slikarska radionica u Srbiji XIII veka,* Starinar XII, 1961, 63–75). Milutin raised his church around 1306–1307 with the assistance of Damjan and Sava, bishops of Prizren (*SSZN,* IV, 4). Several years later it was decorated with frescoes. This church was the see of the bishops and, from 1346, metropolitans of Prizren (Janković, *Episkopije i mitropolije*, 143–146, 183–184), perhaps all the way until the XVIII century when it was converted into a mosque (cf. H. Kaleši, *Kada je crkva Svete Bogorodice Ljeviške u Prizrenu pretvorena u džamiju,* PKJIF 3–4, 1962, 253–261; S. M. Nenadović, *Bogorodica Ljeviška,* Beograd 1963, 33), its frescoes damaged and covered by mortar. It was returned to the Christian cult only in 1912. On the history of the church cf. Dj. Sp. Radojičić, *O pomeniku Sv. Bogorodice Ljeviške,* Starinar XV (1940), 43–69; S. M. Nenadović, *Bogorodica Ljeviška,* 23–38; Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 9–27 (D. Panić).

The features of Milutin's church were largely conditioned by the size and shape of the earlier basilica. However, protomagister Nikola skillfuly fitted a structure of a cross-in-square plan with ambulatory aisles into the existing shell, constructing it upon old and newly built piers. Old aisles ending in parekklesia, the one on the south was dedicated to St. Nicholas, were preserved on the lateral sides. All three parts – the main church and the parekklesia – were closed off by a narthex. An open exonarthex stood in front surmounted by a tall belfry rising over its central axis flanked by two lateral parekklesia dedicated to St. George and St. Demetrios. They were approached from the inner narthex. Access first lead to a front room and only the space it opened to lead to the parekklesia. Most completely on the architecture of the church S. M. Nenadović, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 67–185.

All church walls and piers, as well as the open exonarthex, were covered with frescoes. Less than half of them have been preserved, what's more, in a very damaged state. Based on a portrait of Milutin's son Stefan, first mentioned in the sources in 1306 (F. Miklosich, *Monumenta serbica*, Wien 1858, 67–69), and confined in Constantinople following a rebellion against his father in the early spring of 1314, they are dated to the period between 1309 and 1313 (Stefan's image was identified by S. Mandić, *Jedan vladarski lik u Bogorodici Ljeviškoj,* Zograf 1, 1966, 24–27, which enabled a more precise dating of the entire decoration, cf. also Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, note 49). Prior to the full removal of the layer of mortar researchers were familiar with just a couple of frescoes (Radojčić, *Portreti*, 34; Petković, *Pregled,* 264; M. Korunović, *Otkriće u Bogorodici Ljeviškoj,* Zograf 5, 1974, 68). Work on their cleaning began in 1950 (V. Vulović, *Čišćenje krečnog sloja sa fresaka u Bogorodici Ljeviškoj u Prizrenu,* Zbornik zaštite spomenika kulture VI–VII, 1955–1956, 253–255; B. Živković, *Konzervacija fresaka Bogorodice Ljeviške u Prizrenu,* 257–260; id., *Konzervacija i restauracija oštećenih fresaka u crkvi Bogorodice Ljeviške u Prizrenu,* SKM VI–VII, 1972, 229–234; *Sećanja konzervatora,* Beograd 1982, 67–73), although with rather long ceasures, work on their conservation and preservation is still in progress.

The frescoes were painted by Michael Astrapas and his assistants. Astrapas's name, together with the name of the master builder Nikola, has been preserved in an

inscription painted in the exonarthex (on this inscription and its contents cf. D. Panić, *O natpisu s imenima protomajstora u eksonarteksu Bogorodice Ljeviške*, Zograf 1, 1956, 21–23 = Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 22–27 – D. Panić).

The inscriptions on the frescoes are in Serbian while Greek is used only in rare instances.

Preserved frescoes of Milutin's era.

Sanctuary

In the apse is a half preserved figure of the Virgin standing upon a low podium and below her the central part of Celebration of Holy Liturgy: Sts. Basil and John Chrysostomos turning toward and altar table and blessing the Amnos on a paten, two scrolls, an asterisk and a chalice; an imitation of drapery with two-headed eagles is painted on the socle. On the vault and the upper part of the walls there are remains of the Ascension. Christ's parting from the apostles stood on the north wall together with a half-figure of an archangel and, below a painted cornice, an unknown bishop from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy carrying a scroll inscribed with the prayer of the First Antiphon and followed by a seraph and the Communion with Bread; in the first zone we find St. Romanus and a deacon with a lighted candle, an unknown bishop taking part in the Celebration of Holy Liturgy, carrying a closed gospel book and a censer, and St. Atharasios the Great with an unrolled scroll insribed with the prayer recited before the Lord's prayer. On the south wall is a preserved Communion with Wine, a seraph and a bishop from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy and lower still St. Gregory with the prayer for the Virgin recited prior to the Anaphora and St. Cyril with a closed gospel book in his hands followed by a candle-bearing deacon. The soffits of the arches over the passageways leading to the prothesis and the diaconicon are decorated with two angel-deacons each.

Prothesis

In the calotte of the dome rising over this space is a half-figure of Christ "in his age", below him, in the drum, are Old Testament righteous Asher, Zebulun, Naphtali and Gad. Lower still, on the walls, are scenes from Resurrection lections: Christ on the See of Galilee (north wall), the bread and the fish on the fire (east), Christ giving bread to the apostles and remains of two ambiguous scenes on the south wall. In the apse is a half-figure of Christ. In the same zone on the south wall are parttakers in the Celebration of Holy Liturgy: one bishop in half-figure and another (in full figure) with a scroll inscribed, in Greek, with the common opening words of liturgical prayers, "O Lord, our God". In the bottom register is St. Clement, probably of Ohrid, and, standing beside him – in the passageway leading to the central part of the altar space, St. Methodios.

Diaconicon

The calotte of the dome is filled with a half-figure of Christ Ancient of Days; in the drum below are figures of Aggias (?), Malachi, Obadiah (?) and Joel (?), lower still are quite badly damaged evangelical scenes: Healing of the Lame (north wall), Christ and the Sinful Woman (east), Sinful Woman Purchasing Myrrh and a cherub above her (south wall). In the apse is a half-figure of St. John the Prodromos. In the same register on the walls is an unknown bishop from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy with a closed gospel book and a half-figure of St. Germanos on the north wall and the Last Supper and Washing of the Feet on the south.

Naos

The dome and the space beneath it. An eight-point star encircles Christ Pantokrator in the calotte. Out of it angels surge forth in the direction of the prophets in the drum (from north to south: angel with a rolled-up scroll, angel with an urolled scroll with the Greek text "Thus speaks the Lord, here I...", two angels with rolled-up scrolls, damaged angel, angel with a scroll simply insribed with "Sabbaoth" in Greek, angel with "Thus speaks the Lord" inscribed in Greek on his scroll and a seraph with a spoon). There are eight prophets with scrolls in the drum, Isaiah's is the only legible text (Isaiah 6, 6). On the south-east pendentive is evangelist Matthew and a personification of Divine Wisdom floats between him and the evangelist on the south-west pendentive, offering scrolls to the two saints. Insignificant fragments remain of the Keramion on the west side. The evangelist on the north-west pendentive has not been preserved while only the contours of the one on the north-east are still visible. They, too, received scrolls from Divine Wisdom. Finally, a damaged Mandelion appears on the east side.

In the upper zones of the space beneath the dome frescoes have been preserved only in the south arm of the cross: a part of the Baptism in the vault, Presentation of Christ in the Temple on the south wall, a cherub in the lunette above the three-light window; in the register below – on the east and south wall – Myrrhophores, Three Women at the Sepulchre and a figure of resurrected Christ on the west wall. Below the cornice on the north wall is a part of the Betrayal of Judas and Trial Before Annas. At the top of the north wall is the scene of Christ appearing before two myrrhophores, a seraph on the timpanon of the window, in a lower register is the Road to Emmaus (on the west wall), Supper at Emmaus, a small part of the scene of Luke and Cleopas telling the apostles of their encounter with Christ (north wall) and "Peace be unto you" (east wall).

Above the original iconostasis, on the east side of the naos, is the Annunciation.

On the west wall of the naos is the Dormition and Christ in a mandorla above it.

Lateral ambulatory aisles. South aisle: (for the diaconicon cf. supra) in the south-west corner, at the apex of the dome, is a half-figure of Christ Emmanuel and lower, in the drum, are prophets Elisha (?), Jonah, Nathan and an unidentified figure and on the walls the remaining part of the scene with Christ and four saints. North aisle: in the calotte of the north-west dome is a half-figure of Christ "in another form" and, lower, four Old Testament righteous (among them Micah? and Reuben), below them are three scenes with Christ and the apostles and a half-figure of a martyr (for the prothesis cf. supra).

Frescoes on piers. On the south side of the south-east pier under the dome is an enthroned Virgin with Christ; on the south-west pier under the dome: in the upper register are four martyrs (among them perhaps Sts. Epymachos and Vicentius), in the bottom register are some holy doctors (Panteleimon?) (east side), St. Cosmas (north), Christ (west) and prophet Daniel (?) (south). On the pier by the west bay there are four martyrs in the upper zone and in the lower Barbara (east side), an unknown holy woman (north), Theodosia (west) and Christ "Guardian of Prizren" (south); on the arch spanning the space between the westernmost pier and the west wall are remains of half-figures of two Old Testament righteous. On the west wall, in the passageway leading to the narthex, are figures of apostles Peter and Paul and, above them, a medallion with Christ Emmanuel in half-figure blessing the two saints. On the north side of the pier of the west bay are four martyrs in the upper zone and lower Sts. Kyriaki (south side), Irene (east), Christ (north) and St. Paraskevi (west); on the arch connecting this pier with the west wall is a figure of an unknow Old Testament righteous. On the north-west pier of the space beneath the dome are martyr saints Orestes, Pegasius (?), Gervasios and an unidentified martyr, a damaged figure of a holy warrior below them (east side), another warrior saint without a preserved name (north), the Virgin Helper of the Poor (west) and St. Damian (south). On the north-east pier of the space beneath the dome are more martyrs in the upper register, Sts. Auxentius (?), Eugenios (?), Eustratios (?) and Mardarios, and below them an unknown holy warrior (east side), one other warrior saint (north), Christ (west) and St. John the Prodromos (south).

Parekklesion of St. Nicholas

In the conch of the apse is a half-figure of the Virgin of Signs and below her the Celebration of Holy Liturgy with St. Basil (the prayer of the Cherubic hymn inscribed on his scroll) and St. John Chrysostomos.

On the groin vault over the easternmost bay are scenes from the cycle of St. Nicholas distributed around a medallion with an angel in half-figure: the saint goes to school, the saint ordained deacon, the saint ordained priest, only the inscription and a small fragment of the scene of the saint appearing to Ablabius has been preserved while even smaller fragments remain of the other scenes which are, therefore, difficult to identify. On the lobed segment of the wall below the vault is the Birth of St. Nicholas and further down half-figures of the Virgin and Christ offering an omophorion and a gospel to St. Nicholas (now vanished); on the opposite, south wall there are only fragmentary remains of the saint appearing to the three generals and a frontally positioned figure of St. Cyril below this scene.

The death of St. Nicholas was located on the north wall of the second bay to the west.

In the next bay, on the vault and the north wall, are remains of two Ecumenical Councils and just a damaged holy warrior in the bottom register of the pier. (XIII century frescoes are also found in this space).

The north wall of the west bay is also decorated with a representation of an Ecumenical Council while an image of a young saint appears on the pier and above it, on the soffit of the arch, a part of an angel in a medallion.

North parekklesion

In the apse stood the Celebration of Holy Liturgy of which only parts of a bishop figure and the altar table now remain.

Other frescoes remain only on the south wall and in passageways leading to the naos: on the north side of the westernmost pilaster is St. Mary the Egyptian with Zosimus giving her communion on the next pilaster; between these two are figures of two holy monks, the Virgin Grigorovoithissa and a holy woman appear in the passageway as well as an angel in a medallion on the intrados of the arch; two half-figures of holy monks with inscribed scolls stood furhter on down the wall after the figure of Zosimus while the Virgin with Christ and St. Thekla appear in the passageway and a seraph in a medallion on the soffit of the arch above them. On the front side of the third pilaster is St. Pachomios once addressed by a now nonexistent angel depicted on the next pier, by him is a figure of St. James the monk with an inscribed scroll, in the passageway leding to the naos is an unknown holy warrior and at the centre of the intrados an angel in a medallion.

Narthex

East wall. On the pilaster is a fragment of a Virgin with Christ. Left of the entrance to the naos only the portrait of king Milutin still stands ("In Christ God faithful sovereign and holy birth Stefan Uroš King of all Serbian lands and the Littoral, great gandson of St. Symeon Nemanja, grandson of the First-Crowned King Stefan, son of the Great King Uroš, son-in-law of the Great Greek Emperor Palaiologos kyr Andronikos, and ktetor of this holy place"); above the entrance is a half-figure of Christ blessing with both hands; on the other side of the entrance only the inscription remains by a now vanished

figure of king Uroš I: "Stefan Uroš the Great King of all Serbian lands and the Littoral, grandson of St. Symeon Nemanja, son of the First-Crowned Serbian King Stefan, father of the King Uroš".

West wall. Following a small figure of a candle bearing deacon stands St. Sava and next to him St. Symeon Nemanja shown in half-figure above the entrance ("St. Symeon Nemanja leading to the Lord all ktetors of the Serbian lands"), to his right is Stefan Prvovenčani ("The First-Crowned King, son of Symeon Nemanja, Father of King Uroš"); next to him is Milutin's son Stefan: "Stefan" (probably: grandson of King Stefan) "Uroš and son" (probably: of King Stefan Uroš); only the green pillow on which the figure stood now remains. On the north pilaster stood an unclear funerary inscription and parts of leaved crosses in the doorway while imitations of hangings with two-headed eagles graced the socle.

Storey above the inner narthex and the exonarthex

First entrance room. Around the two-light window on the east wall are two holy stylites, Symeon and an unknown saint, while Christ and the Virgin appeared on its inner sides.

Second entrance room. East wall: below an angel in a medallion is a scene with a man torn apart by beasts. South wall: in the upper register are Christ Emmanuel and two angels in medallions, above the entrance to the parekklesion is St. Demetrios on horseback and around the entrance figures of martyr saints, Lupus, Gervasios (?) and Gourias (?). On the west wall is the Virgin in half-figure flanked by angels in medallions turning towards her, further down, in the lunette of the two-light window, are stories of human vanity from the romance of Barlaam and Joasaph. At the top of the north wall are medallions with images of Christ and angels, above the entrance to the parekklesion St. George on horseback and holy martyrs Platon, Romanus (?), Kyricus and Julitta, around the entrance.

Parekklesion of St. Demetrios. On the east wall, originally probably reserved for themes typical of altar spaces, only traces of a bishop turning towards the centre remain today, proof that this spot once housed the Celebration of Holy Liturgy. On the vaults and the lobed wall surfaces beneath them ran the cycle of St. Demetrios of which only the following scenes have survived: Nestor Kills Lyaeus, Death of St. Demetrios and Tomb of St. Demetrios. On the face of the reinforcing arch were angels, the figures of which now remain only from the waist up. Single figures of saints stood above the socle: on the south wall Sts. Demetrios and George blessed by the hand of God appearing from a segment of heaven, on the west wall six martyrs (of which only the figure of St. Tryphon can be clearly recognised), among them also a deacon, while two saints surrounded the entrance in the north wall with traces of leaved crosses in the doorway itself.

Parekklesion of St. George. The programme of fresco decoration resembled that of the previously described parekklesion. Judging by the remains of a bishop figure, the Celebration of Holy Liturgy was located on the east wall. Only traces remain of the cycle dedicated to the patron saint: Torture on the Wheel and the Saint Encouraged by an Angel (north wall) and remains of a scene including princess Alexandra (south wall). Standing single figures were painted on all the walls but damaged fragments of a saint remain only on the south and those of another on the west wall. Figures of the Virgin with Christ, Christ, a martyr and a holy warrior, probably George, can be discerned on the north wall. A leaved cross on a base is still visible in the doorway.

Exonarthex

Central bay. In the lunette over the eastern entrance is a half-figure of the Virgin with Christ whose open gospel book displays the text of Matthew 7, 2 and John 7, 24. At first, this image was surrounded by long incriptions (apparently celebrating the Virgin and newborn Christ) but immediately upon their completion they were covered with a layer of mortar and replaced by depictions of two angels. On the vault is the Baptism of Christ (from the hand of God in a circle filled with angels a ray of light with the dove of the Holy Spirit descends upon the figure of Christ standing in the Jordan). This scene is accompanied by an inscription from Matthew 3, 16. Around it are various scenes, illustrations of John's sermons: the sermon delivered to the people about Christ who is to come and to be baptised (John 1, 33), the text on John's scroll being John 1, 30, with the addition of the people addressing Christ (Matthew 11, 3); sermon to the soldiers and the publicans (Matthew 3, 10; Luke 3, 12 and 3, 14); People of Jerusalem going out to the Jordan (Matthew 3, 5) and John preaching to them (Matthew 3, 3 and 3, 2); Meeting of John and Christ on the Jordan (the text on John's scroll is from Matthew 3, 14) and the sermon to the people about Christ who shall clean his threshing floor (Matthew 3, 11–12). On the arches of this bay is the representation of the "Prophets from Above" hymn: on the south side are prophets Aaron with a staff (text from Numbers 24, 17 on his scroll) and beside him pitcher, Solomon with a scroll (Wisdom 9, 1) and seven pillars beside his figure, Jacob with a scroll (Genesis 28, 12) and a ladder beside him, Jeremiah with a scroll (Ezekiel 44, 2) and a door, Zechariah (text of the service of the feast of Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple on his scroll and a gold censer beside him) and Zachary with a scroll inscribed with "Candlestick shining in the world" and a candlestick and on the north side: prophet Moses with a scroll (Exodus 3, 2) and the bush, David with a scroll (Psalm 131, 8) and the ark, Daniel with a scroll (Daniel 2, 35) and a rock, Habakkuk with a scroll (Habakkuk 3, 2) and a boat with Christ, Isaiah with

a scroll (Isaiah 6, 6–7) and a seraph and Balaam the sorcerer with a scroll (Numbers 24, 17) and a star. By the figure of Jacob is the inscription of the rule of "providing provisions" with mentions of names of the master builder Nicholas and master painter Astrapas "who constructed and decorated the church".

South bay. An extensive Last Judgement is preserved only on the vault and on the upper parts of the west wall. In the bottom register are frontally positioned figures of Serbian archbishops (in the following order going from north to south): Arsenije ("Arsenije the Right Reverend – *preosvešteni* – Archbishop of all Serbian Land and the Littoral"), Sava (II) ("Sava the Right Reverend Archbishop"), Joanikije ("Joanikije the Right Reverend Archbishop"), Jevstatije ("Jevstatije the Right Reverend Archbishop"), Jakov ("Jakov the Right Reverend Archbishop") and Jevstatije II with a damaged inscription.

North bay. On the vault and the enclosing arches is a partly preserved Tree of Jesse. In the upper register of the west wall are representations of Damascene's Kanon on the Dormition of the Virgin, Jacob Wrestling with the Angel of the Lord and Jacob's Ladder. In the bottom register of the west wall are figures of bishops of Prizren (from south to north): Ilarije ("Ilarije the Right Reverend – *vseosvešteni* – bishop"), Amvrosije ("Amvrosije the Right Reverend bishop"), Varlaam ("Varlaam the Right Reverend bishop"), Jovan ("Jovan the Right Reverend bishop"), Damjan ("Damjan the Right Reverend bishop") and one other ("Rigth Reverend ...").

Western entrance. On the inner side of the doorway are personifications of the New and Old Testament.

The frescoes of Bogorodica Ljeviška became known to scientific circles rather late: before the Second World War only three portraits on the west wall were visible – those of Symeon Nemanja, Prvovenčani and Milutin's son Stefan – and they were included in Radojčić's study on the portraits of Serbian rulers (Radojčić, *Portreti*, 34). Immediatley upon the uncovering of all the surviving frescoes (in 1950), they drew the attention of scholars, once again that of Radojčić first of all who noted the significance of Astapas's name and associated it with the painter who had worked in the church of the Virgin Peribleptos at Ohrid, published several frescoes and pointed out the most prominent artistic features of the decoration of this Prizren church (Radojčić, *Majstori*, 19–36). At the same time these frescoes were also commented by Hamann - Mac Lean in the catalogue accompanying an exhibition of their copies (*Aus der mittelalterlichen Bildwelt Jugoslawiens. Einzelheiten des Freskenzyklus der Kirche der Gottesmutter von Leviša in Prizren*, Marburg a. d. Lahn 1955), and shortly after H. Hallensleben published a list of the preserved frescoes, their distribution within the church and a large number of reproductions (Hamann-Mac Lean – Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei*, 29–30, Abb. 182–212, Plan 23–25). Some ten year later, the church received a monograph in which Gordana Babić studied the frescoes, dated them more precisely, deciphered their programme, investigated the iconography of some themes and assessed their artistic values within the framework of Byzantine painting of the early XIV century, published a great number of black and white and colour reproductions as well as drawings of the wall paintings (Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 47–104, pls. I–XVIII, figs. 11–30, drawings 8–21 and on pp. 116–140). Recently, drawings of these frescoes have been published more completely: B. Živković, *Bogorodica Ljeviška. Les dessins des fresques*, Beograd 1991. In that way, the documentary material on Ljeviška's frescoes has been rounded off and the most significant questions related to them identified and solved in monographic form.

In the meantime, certain features of the wall paintings from Ljeviška were discussed in several instances. Following their cleaning, a magnificent gallery of portraits of Nemanjids appeared. Their identification not only dispersed earlier hesitancies but also offered an opportunity to understand more fully the situation in Serbia around 1310 and to evaluate better the overall value of the frescoes from Ljeviška. Having dedicated a special discourse to the figure standing by that of Prvovenčani, S. Mandić (*Jedan vladarski lik u Bogorodici Ljeviškoj*, 24–27) proved that it represents Milutin's son Stefan and thus dispelled earlier assumptions which saw in it a portrait of king Milutin (Radojčić, *Portreti*, 34), king Radoslav (Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 43, note 49 – D. Panić), king Uroš I (Kovačević, *Srednjovekovna nošnja*, 37–38) or king Dragutin (Radovanović, *Portreti Nemanjića*, 281–299). Most of Radovanović's study is dedicated precisely to this portrait although all the others were also described and explicated with great care. Some of these portraits were the subject of interest also to Milošević, *Die Heilingen Serbiens*, 64–67 and ead., *Ikonografija svetog Save u srednjem veku*, Sava Nemanjić – saint Sava. Histoire et tradition, Beograd 1979, 296–297 and Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 16–19. G. Babić also made a significant contribution to a better understanding of the portraits in question because not only did she explain some of their specific features but also compared the visual images and their accompanying inscriptions and considered the Constantinopolitan court and its customs which were certainly familiar to Serbia of Milutin's age (Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 58–63). Once again, S. Mandić returned to the problem of the portraits from Prizren (S. Mandić, *Drevnik*, Beograd 1975, 146–154) with a hypothesis that the images of Milutin and Uroš flanking the entrance to the church disclosed a double ktetorship which would mean that king Uroš should be credited with the restoration of Ljeviška carried out in the XIII century. Eva Haustein (Haustein, *Der Nemanjidenstammbaum*, 199–201) saw in the portraits from Ljeviška a direct

inspiration for the Nemanjid family tree painted in Gračanica. Portraits of bishops of Prizren and Serbian archbishops located in the exonarthex were again treated with greatest attention by G. Babić (Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 66; Babić, *Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*, 115 and Babić, *Nizovi portreta*, 324–328).

Immediately upon being uncovered, although rather damaged, the decoration of Ljeviška, became an attractive field of iconographic studies. Thus, S. Radojčić (*Jedna scena iz romana o Varlaamu i Joasafu u crkvi Bogorodice Ljeviške u Prizrenu*, Starinar III–IV, 1955, 77–81) gave an explanation for the Story of Human Vanity represented on the upper floor of the church, a scene otherwise often found in manuscripts, while D. Medaković began investigating the Tree of Jesse (*Predstave antičkih filozofa i sivila u živopisu Bogorodice Ljeviške*, ZRVI 6, 1960, 43–55), a task perpetuated by other art historians too: N. Davidović-Radovanović, *Sibila carica etiopska u živopisu Bogorodice Ljeviške*, Zbornik LU 9 (1973), 29–42; Babić, *Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*, 106, 116, 118; Milanović, *The Tree of Jesse*, 48–59. The decoration of the exonarthex was studied more extensively by Babić, *Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*, 106, 115–124 and Hamann-Mac Lean, *Grundlegung*, 173–182, 196–197. G. Babić (*L'image symbolique de la "Porte fermeé" à Saint-Clément d'Ohrid*, Synthronon, Paris 1968, 145–151), C. Grozdanov (*Prilozi proučavanju Sv. Sofije ohridske u XIV veku*, Zbornik LU 5, 1969, 42–49) and V. Milanović (*"Proroci su te nagovestili" u Peći*, L'archevêque Danilo II et son époque, Beograd 1991, 409–423) offered more thorough explanations – in works focused on other monuments – of Damascene's Kanon on the Dormition and the composition "The Prophets from Above", including examples of these themes from Prizren, while I. Djordjević (*Stari i Novi zavet na ulazu u Bogorodicu Ljevišku*, Zbornik LU 9, 1973, 15–25) wrote more extensively about the frescoes surrounding the western entrance. A large number of images of Christ, the Virgin and holy women found in Bogorodica Ljeviška and their interesting iconography drew the attention of several researchers, above all that of J. Radovanović (*Neveste Hristove u živopisu Bogorodice Ljeviške u Prizrenu*, Zbornik LU 15, 1979, 115–134 = *Ikonografska istraživanja*, 67–78 and id., *Prikazi Bogorodice u crkvi Bogorodice Ljeviške u Prizrenu*, SKM, 1963, 125–129), and also M. Ćorović-Ljubinković, *Dve dečanske ikone Umilenija*, Starinar III–IV (1951–1953), 89–90; M. Tatić-Djurić, *Ikona Bogorodice "Prekrasne", njeno poreklo i rasprostranjenost*, Zbornik Svetozara Radojčića, Beograd 1969, 344 and ead., *Jedna groteska iz Ljeviške*, Zograf 4 (1972), 24–26; Hamann-Mac Lean, *Grundlegung*, 171. The iconography of some other frescoes from Bogorodica Ljeviška has also been studied although not in as much detail as the previously mentioned subjects: Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 92–95 (on the frescoes of the exonarthex); Walter, *L'iconographie des conciles*, 110–111, 119 (on the Ecumenical Councils); Babić, *Les chapelles*, 149 (on the frescoes of the parekklesia on the upper storey); Patterson-Ševčenko, *St. Nicholas*, 1983, 40, 66–89, 120–122, 134–142 (on the cycle of St. Nicholas); Hallensleben, *Die Malerschule*, 71–72, 75–77, 80–86 (on the iconography of the Dormition, Baptism, Last Supper and Washing of the Feet) and Hamann-Mac Lean, *Grundlegung*, 24–26, 47–53 (on the resurrection appearances and different guises of Christ). Naturally, they are also mentioned as comparative material in numerous other works focused on the study of iconography of medieval painting.

Because of their exceptional artistic qualities, the wall paintings from this Prizren church understandably inspired a number of scholars who dedicated to them interesting studies in which they investigated their features and the question of their authors. The following researchers wrote about the place of these frescoes on the path of development of Serbian and Byzantine painting of the early XIV century: Hallensleben, *Die Malerschule*, 133–148; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 88–96; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 68; Djurić, *La peinture byzantine vers 1300*, 71–72; Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 81–93; V. Mako, *Pojedini postupci u komponovanju scena Pričešća apostola slikarske radionice Mihaila i Evtihija*, Zograf 23 (1993–1994), 18–27. From the moment of discovery of Astrapas's name, in 1952, a lively discourse has been going on concerning his identity, the question whether he can be identified with Michael, the painter who worked in the church of the Peribleptos at Ohrid and other churches in which he signed his name, and even on the relations of the wall paintings from Ljeviška with the frescoes found in those churches: Radojčić, *Majstori*, 19–32; S. Radojčić, *Die Meister der altserbischen Malerei vom Ende des XII bis zur Mitte des XV Jahrhunderts*, Πεπραγμένα του Θ' Διεθνούς Βυζαντινολογικού Συνεδρήου, I, Αθήνα 1954, 436; R. Hamann-Mac Lean, *Aus der Mittelalterlichen Bildwelt Jugoslawiens*, 12–14; id., *Zu den Malerinschriften der "Milutinschule"*, BZ 53/1 (1960), 112–117; Dj. Bošković, *O nekim našim graditeljima i slikarima iz prvih decenija XIV veka*, Starinar IX–X (1958–1959), 125–131; Miljković-Pepek, *Pišuvanite podatoci*, 139–170; Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 17, 228–230; Σ. Πελεκανίδης, *Ο ζωγράφος Μιχαήλ Αστραπάς*, Μακεδονικά 4 (1958), 545–547; Xyngopoulos, *Thessalonique*, 34–44; Hallensleben, *Die Malerschule*, 24–25, 28–30, 33–34; K. Kalokyris, *Entstehung und Gestaltung der byzantinischen Denkmäler in Mazedonien, Alt-Serbien und Bulgarien*, Thessaloniki 1970, 26–27; Chatzidakis, *Classicisme*, 156–157; Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 81–93. All arguments and opinions were gathered by Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, note 16 and 49 who concluded that Michael and Astrapas were one and the same person whose acitivities can be followed from the Ohrid Peri-

bleptos to Bogorodica Ljeviška of Prizren and in other monuments of a later date, as attested also by newly gathered evidence: S. Kisas, *Solunska umetnička porodica Astrapa*, Zograf 5 (1974), 35–37; P. Miljković-Pepek, *Prilog kon soznanijata za solunskoto poteklo na slikarskata familija Astrapa i za možnoto poistovetuvanje na zografot Mihail Astrapa so Panselinos*, Godišen zbornik na Filozofskiot fakultet 5–6 (1979–1980), 209–217; id., *L'atelier artistique proéminent de la famille thessalonicienne d'Astrapas de la fin du XIIIe et des premières décennies du XIVe siècle*, JÖB 32/5 (1982), 491–494. However, Miljković-Pepek, *O poznatim i anonimnim slikarima*, 52–53, rejects the possibility that Michael and Eutychios worked in Ljeviška while E. Mercato, *Michele ed Eutichio "pittori" nella Peribletos di Ocrida – nuovi indici di una problematica*, XVIIIe congrès int. des ét. byz., Résumés des communications, II, Moscou 1991, 727–728, suggests further ways of investigating their work.

The painting of Bogorodica Ljeviška has also been included in all the more recent surveys of Serbian and Byzantine art and several popular texts have also been written on this subject, cf. Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, note 49.



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Prizren, Bogorodica Ljeviška, *Last Judgement*, detail, 1309–1313

Vranje

Saint Prochor of Pčinja



The church was raised on an ancient sacral site where the recluse Prochor lived in ascesis. Tradition ascribed the raising of the church to king Milutin (Stojanović, *Rodoslovi i letopisi,* 32). The church was decorated with wall paintings for the second time in 1488/9, perhaps following a fire (on these frescoes G. Subotić, *La peinture des Saints-Pierre-et-Paul à Orlica et son cercle stylistique,* Sixième congrès international d'études du Sud-Est européen. Résumés des communications – la littérature, ethnologie, droit, arts, tables rondes, Sofia 1989, 201–202; id., *Obnova zidnog slikarstva u Svetom Prohoru Pčinjskom krajem XV veka,* Leskovački zbornik XXIX, 1989, 9–14; S. Petković, *Srpska umetnost u XVI i XVII veku,* Beograd 1995, 29–31). During the centuries which followed, a number of parekklesia rose around the chruch and frescoes from the XVII century are preserved in some of them (cf. A. Jovanović, *Pčinja. Istorijska crta iz nove srpske pokrajine,* Glasnik SUD 49, 1881, 316–322; J. Hadži Vasiljević, *Sveti Prohor Pčinjski i njegov manastir,* GNČ XX, 1900, 73–83). Most of these additional structures were torn down in 1898 when the new church was constructed (Petković, *Pregled,* 269), and only the church from the XIV century was spared (except for its western part) and transformed into a prothesis of the new building. The original patron saint of the church is not known; it may have been archangel Michael.

Because of later demolition and additional construction, the shape of the older church is not entirely clear. However, it must have been small, single-naved, without a dome and had an apse on its east side.

The time of construction and decoration of the church is not known and neither is her ktetor. It is highly improbable that it was king Milutin because all his endowments were carefully listed by archbishop Danilo who makes no mention of the church of St. Prochor on the Pčinja. Data found in *Genealogy of Karlovci* may be based on some unpreserved inscription from the church which mentioned that the church was raised in the days of king Milutin. The fact that there really was a restoration at the beginning of the XIV century is attested by the masonry technique of the church and even more by a brick bearing the name Sava built into the north facade (J. Hadži Vasiljević, *Sveti Prohor Pčinjski,* 77; B. Deljanin, *Istraživački radovi u 1983. godini u manastiru Prohoru Pčinjskom,* Glasnik DKS 8, 1984, 43), since the shape of the letters is very close to those found on the facade of Bogorodica Ljeviška (cf. S. M. Nenadović, *Bogorodica Ljeviška,* Beograd 1963, 26, pls. XXXIX, XL), it is, therefore, beyond doubt that we are dealing with the same person – namely the bishop of Prizren (1307–1309) and archbishop Sava III (1309–1316). We are convinced that a brick with Sava's name could have appeared on the facade of the church of St. Prochor only during the time Sava was archbishop for only then could he have been mentioned also in the eastern regions of the state. G. Subotić and D. Todorović placed the construction of the church in the period between 1309 and 1316 and identified the date of its decoration with that of the nearby church at Staro Nagoričino (1316–1317) (Subotić – Todorović, *Sveti Prohor Pčinjski,* 123–124, 137). There are, however, indications that all this could have taken place a while earlier. Namely, so far as we know today, the regions in the south which king Milutin added to the Serbian state already in 1282–1283 were not organised into specific bishoprics even in the first decades of the XIV century. They were subjected to the ecclesiastic authority of bishops of Prizren and Lipljan, perhaps also those of Debar and Skoplje (Janković, *Episkopije i mitropolije,* 59–60). It seems that proof of such a situation can be found also in a passage of the charter of Gračanica (cf. the most recent and best reading of its text: B.

Živković, *Gračanička povelja,* Beograd 1992, 39–42), a spot considerably damaged but still quite clear in meaning: the king gave the Greek lands in the south (Vranje, Slavište, Zletovo, Morozvizd, etc.) to the bishoprics of Prizren and Lipljan without specifying clearly the dividing line between the authority of the two. In any case, the region of Vranje, in which the church of St. Prochor of Pčinja is located, could have been under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Prizren. This assumption could be substantiated by the brick with Sava's name, similar to those from Bogorodica Ljeviška which were built into its walls precisely in the days of Sava's episcopate there. Therefore, it seem possible that the church on the Pčinja river was built between 1307 and 1309 and that bishop Sava did have some merit in its construction. At the same time this means that it was decorated with frescoes several years later, after Ljeviška and before Nagoričino, thus around 1315.

Of those frescoes only small fragments are visible today, uncovered and cleaned in 1981–1982: M. Andjelković, *Početak istraživačkih radova na freskama manastira Sv. Prohora Pčinjskog (radovi u 1981. godini),* Glasnik DKS 7 (1983), 38–41. The new frescoes painted in 1488/1489 literally copied the older paintings.

The author of the wall paintings was Michael (Astrapas) who signed his name on the shield of St. Demetrios (Subotić – Todorović, *Sveti Prohor Pčinjski*, 125–126).

The inscriptions on the frescoes were Greek.

Because the younger paintings (1488/9) copied the older, we shall list all the preserved frescoes found in the church today and mark with an asterisk those from the XIV century which were uncovered fully or only partially.

Apse

In the conch is a half-figure of the Virgin with Christ and below her the Celebration of Holy Liturgy with the figures of Sts. Basil, John Chrysostomos, Gregory the Theologian and Athanasios the Great.

Vault

Of the Great Feasts, representations of the Nativity, Crucifixion, parts of Entry of Christ into Jerusalem and Descent into Hades are located on the vault.

Walls

On the east wall, above the apse, is the lower part of the Ascension and in the lower register the Mandelion, Annunciation and Visitation. Around the apse is the Communion of the Apostles and further down figures of saints Polycarp, Daniel the Stylite, Symeon the Stylite* and a half-figure of Blasios. In the prothesis niche is an unknown deacon* and St. Stephen in the diaconicon niche. On the south wall, in the upper zone are representations of the Last Supper and Washing of the Feet; in the central zone Christ appearing to the myrrophores, Healing of the Paralytic and Healing of the Blind; in the bottom register are figures of St. Cyril of Alexandria and St. Clement (?), participating in the Celebration of Holy Liturgy, as well as St. Romanus, St. Prochor of Pčinja, St. Sava the Serbian and St. George. At the top of the north wall are representations of the Road to Calvary, Ascent of the Cross and Descent from the Cross, below them Christ Healing Peter's Mother-in-Law*, an almost entirely damaged Healing of the Leprouses and Holy Women at the Sepulchre* and in the bottom register fragments of a saint*, St. Demetrios*, an archangel (partly preserved)* and bishops participating in the Celebration of Holy Liturgy: Nicholas* and Silvester*. (J. Hadži-Vasiljević, *Sveti Prohor Pčinjski*, 82, saw other figures of saints as well: on the right – the south wall? – stood images of Sts. Mardarios, Eustrathios, Auxentios and others, and on the left – the north wall? – Sts. Constantine and Helena, St. Symeon the Serbian and others).

The recently uncovered parts of the XIV century fresco decoration of St. Prochor of Pčinja have already been completely studied. Subotić and Todorović (*Sveti Prohor Pčinjski,* 117–137) carefully distinguished the two layers and noticed that the younger copies the older, explained the programme of the frescoes and compared it to those of Milutin's other churches, above all Nagoričino and Gračanica. They were successful in reading the name of the painter Michael signed on St. Demetrios's shield which gave them an opportunity to communicate all the known facts related to this artist and his assistants. They dated the older layer of frescoes to the period between 1316 and 1317.

Staro Nagoričino by Kumanovo

Church of St. George



Upon the walls of an XI century structure king Milutin raised a new church in 1312/13, as attested by an inscription carved into the lintel of the west portal, and dedicated it to St. Georgios Tropaiophoros (Danilo II, *Die Königsbiographien*, 181; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 25–26, fig. 7, drawing 1). The church was restored towards the close of the XVI century at which time several new inscriptions were probably written out on its frescoes. When exactly the monastery became deserted remains unknown. Works on the protection of the church and archeological excavations of restricted scope were performed in 1930–1931 (Dj. Bošković, *Izveštaj i kratke beleške sa putovanja,* Starinar VI, 1931, 173–176; id., *Arhitektonski izveštaji,* GSND XI, 1932, 215–220), and the frescoes conserved in 1959. No report on these activities has been published. On the history of the church cf. Todić, *Nagoričino*, 25–29.

The size and, to a lesser measure, the shape of Milutin's church depended on the existent older building encountered on the site. At the beginning of the XIV century Nagoričino was given the shape of a cross-in-square structure (without the west arm of the cross) with an altar space, two parekklesia and a narthex. It seems that the church was encircled on three sides by an open porch, torn down in the meantime. A dome rises over the naos, supported by free-standing piers on the east and pilasters adjoining the walls on the west side of the naos. Four other smaller domes stand above the parekklesia and the corner bays of the narthex. The narthex is divided longitudinally into three parts by walls and coloums. The altar space opens to the naos and the prothesis and communicates with the diaconicon through a door. As opposed to the prothesis, the diaconicon is separated from the naos by a full wall. On the other side of the structure, the wall dividing the narthex from the naos, in its lower parts, is pierced by large arched passageways. The old stone iconostasis was probably walled-up and decorated with fresco-icons. There are two entrances to the church, one on the west and another on the south side. On the architecture of the church of Milutin's era cf. Todić, *Nagoričino*, 43–70.

The only remaining example of the wall paintings which once decorated the old church from the XI century is a single fresco on the north wall (Dj. Bošković, *Arhitektonski izveštaji,* 219, fig. 6). All other frescoes were created in the age of king Milutin and, except for those in the upper parts of the church, are well preserved. They were painted in the days of hegoumenos Venjamin and there are inscriptions which inform us of the two years during which the artists worked on them: the year 1316/17 appears on the hiton of a holy warrior located in the passage connecting the naos and the narthex (written by the signature of the painter) and 1317/18 in the lunette above the entrance and on the west wall of the narthex. Judging by these inscriptions, Nagoričino was decorated in 1316–1318 (Todić, *Nagoričino*, 26–27, drawings 2, 26). Considering the size of the church and the fact that all these inscriptions are located in the bottom register of its western end, we should allow for the possibility that work on the fresco decoration began at least a year earlier, that is in 1315, and that it was finished by the end of 1317, i.e. 6825/6826 (Subotić – Todorović, *Sveti Prohor Pčinjski*, 136).

The painters were Michael and Eutychios and they were certainly assisted by others as well. They signed their names twice: Michael on the shield of a holy warrior on the north wall of the naos and both of them on the hiton of St. Theodore Teron standing between the naos and the narthex.

The inscriptions on the frescoes are mostly Greek, although some are witten out in Serbian or even in a mixture of the two languages in a single inscription (they have been published in two instances: P. J. Popović – V. R. Petković, *Staro Nagoričino – Psača – Kalenić,* Beograd 1933, 3–16 and, more completely, Todić, *Nagoričino*, 71–87).

Distribution of the preserved frescoes.

Sanctuary

At the apex of the apse is an enthroned Virgin with Christ on her lap, flanked by bowing figures of archangels Gabriel and Michael. Below them are frontally depicted half-figures of bishops: Meletios, Nikephoros, Sophronios, Averikios, Silvester of Rome, Methodios of Constantinople, Clement of Ancyra, Hippolytus, Metrophanes, Methodios of Patras and Genadius. In the lower register is the Communion of the Apostles with bread and wine and, further down, another row of frontal half-figures of bishops: Atticus, Anatolios, Eusebius, Diadochos, Juvenal, Eustathios of Antioch, Alexander of Alexandria, Nikephoros of Constantinople, Meletios of Antioch, Hierotheos, Phedimos, Antipatrus, Palladios and Modestos. In the bottom register is the Celebration of Holy Liturgy including the figures of the following bishops with unrolled scrolls: St. Gregory of Nyssa, the First Prayer of the Faithful on his scroll, St. Nicholas with the prayer of the Anaphora, St. Gregory the Theologian with the opening of the Cherubic hymn, St. John Chrysostomos with the beginning words of the Prayer of Oblation, St. Athanasios the Great with the prayer of the First Antiphon, St. Cyril of Alexandria on whose scroll is the text of the lection from the dyptich read over the throne and St. John the Merciful with the opening of the prayer of Third Antiphon. A leaved cross is depicted in the window opening of the apse.

On the soffit of the arch in front of the apse are medallions with half-figures of bishops arranged around a cross. They include three images whose names are now damaged and Sts. Jude, relative of Christ, Basil and Eustratios of Antioch.

On the vault of the bay in front of the apse was a representation of the Ascencion of Christ and on the walls scenes tied to liturgical readings, on the south: Healing of Peter's Mother-in-Law, one damaged miracle of Christ, Healing of the Blind and on the north: Parable of the Publican and the Pharisee and two other damaged scenes. In the lower register are representations of Resurrection lections, on the south wall: Christ appearing to the myrrhophores, Holy Women at the Sepulchre and "Nolli me tangere" and on the north: Incredulity of Thomas, Christ speaks to Peter following his thrid resurrection appearance and Christ parting from the apostles on the Mount of Olives. In the zone below are events associated with Passion lections, on the south wall: Last Supper and Washing of the Feet and on the north: Descent from the Cross and Entombement. The row of half-figures includes representations of: St. Gregory Dialogos, Gregory of Agrigentum, Gregory the Armenian, Cyprian, Babylas, Leo of Rome, Lucianus, Achilleios (?), Eustathios of Thessaloniki and Niphon. The bottom zone is dominated by figures of bishops taking part in the Celebration of Holy Liturgy, on the south wall St. Ignatios with a scroll displaying the beginning of the prayer of the Second Antiphon and St. Peter of Alexandria in half and full figure, further on are other participants of this composition: St. Dionysios the Areopagite with the beginning of the prayer of Fervent Supplication on his scroll and St. Gregory the Thaumaturgos with the prayer of the Entrance. On the north wall is St. Eleutherios and in the passageway leading to the prothesis, under a double cross inscribed in a circle, Sts. Patapios and Blasios and, lower still, holy deacons Euplus and Stephen.

On the back of the iconostasis, the side facing the altar, are two leaved crosses with abbrevetions E N B K and IC XC Y ΘY.

Prothesis (Parekklesion of the Virgin)

In the calotte of the dome is a half-figure of the evangelist John and in the drum figures of five bishops.

On the walls are scenes from the cycle of the Virgin: in the top register Refusal of the Offerings (east wall), Joachim and Anne returning from the Temple and Birth of the Virgin (south wall), Annunciation to Anne and Annunciation to Joachim (east wall); in the register below: Zachary giving Mary to Joseph (east wall), Annunciation at the Well, Mary reproached by Joseph and the Virgin drinking the water of purification (south wall), the Virgin caressed by her parents, the blessings of the three priests and Zachary praying over the rods of the suitors (north wall).

In the register of frontally depicted bishops we find Sts. Silvanus, Eulogius and Flavian on the east wall, Cosmas, Martin and Nirsas on the south and Isaacios, Florus, Elias of Antioch, Dometios and Theodotos on the north wall. In the window opening in the north wall we find St. Antipas and a leaved cross with the cryptogram IC XC Y ΘY.

In the bottom register is the Celebration of Holy Liturgy: on the east wall the Amnos (Christ as a child on an altar table in a paten, a chalice beside him, two angel-deacons with rypidia flanking the altar table); on the south wall is St. Spyridon with the Prayer below the chancel steps on his unrolled scroll and on the north St. Constantine Kabasilas with a scroll opening with the words "Bless and celebrate", St. Clement of Ohrid with the text of the epiklessis after the reading from the dyptich, St. Hypatius in front of the Amnos with an illegible text on an unrolled scroll and St. Polycarp with a rolled-up scroll.

Diaconicon (parekklesion of St. Nicholas)

In the calotte of the dome is a half-figure of the evangelist Luke and below him, in the drum, bishops Abericius, Parthenios, Anthimus, Joseph and one other whose name is damaged.

The two upper zones of the walls are reserved for the cycle of St. Nicholas; the top register: Birth of St. Nicholas (north wall), the saint goes to school (east), St. Nicholas ordained deacon and then priest (south), the saint ordained bishop (west), appearing to the three innocently accused men (north); the lower register: St. Nicholas cutting a tree in Plakoma (east wall), the saint appears to the eparchos

in a dream and likewise to the emperor (south), Saving the three just men from the sword (west) and the Miracle at Sea (north wall).

In the zone below are half-figures of saints in medallions: Galaction and Episteme (?) (east wall), Blasios, Agathangelos, a cross with Christ's name followed by Caesar (south), Philogenios and Theodotos (west), Timotheos, an unknown saint, Domninus and one other unknown martyr (north wall).

In the bottom register are holy monks, on the east wall: Gerasimos and Chariton; on the south: St. Athanasios the Athonite, Nilus, Acacios and John Calybites; on the west: Poimen and Hilarion; on the north: Paul the Simple and Alexios the man of God.

In the lunette above the entrance is a depiction of a leaved cross with the cryptogram IC XC Y ΘY, an identical cross was also located on the inner side of the western doorpost.

Naos

Dome. A medallion with Christ Pantokrator is in the dome, it is upheld by eight angels in flight. Further down is the Celestial Liturgy. Between the windows of the drum there were eight prophets with unrolled scrolls, among them Jeremiah (with the text of Jeremiah 3, 17 on his scroll), Elijah, Elisha (holding a scroll with the text of the Second Book of Kings 2, 4), Sophoniah (?) with the text of Sophoniah 3, 18 (?), Joel with a scroll (Joel 2, 12); only small fragments remain of the other figures. On the pendentives are equally badly damaged representations of the evangelists with personifications of Divine Wisdom standing behind them. Only Mark on the north-west pendentive and John on the north-east are discernible today. Traces of the Mandelion on the east and the Keramion on the west side can be discerned between the evangelists.

On the vaults of the arms of the cross and the pediments under them were representations of the Great Feasts of which the Nativity, Presentation of Christ in the Temple and Baptism are preserved on the south wall, Raising of Lazarus on the west, Entry into Jerusalem on the north and Descent into Hades and the Pentecost on the east wall.

The uppermost register of the walls continued with the cycle of scenes from the altar space (cf. sanctuary) related to liturgical readings, from the south wall of the altar: following a damaged fresco we find the Healing of the Paralytic (prophet Samuel below this scene), Christ and the Samaritan woman (prophet David with the text of Psalm 44, 11 below), Christ and Zaccheus, Healing of the Man with the Water Disease, Christ in the Synagogue, Mid-Pentecost (the righteous Noah below), Purification of the Temple (below are the righteous Job and Joseph the Beauteous), "If you should not be as this child", Christ Healing the Woman with an Issue of Blood, Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins (below is prophet Solomon with the text of Wisdom 31, 29 on his scroll), Christ in the House of Martha and Mary (prophet Zachary is depicted below the following, now destroyed fresco). Scenes continue on the north wall of the altar space (cf. sanctuary). Other images painted at this level are prophets on arches which in the east part of the naos connect the piers with the surrounding walls: Moses, Melchizedek, Aaron and four others without preserved names.

The cycle of Christ's resurrection appearances, tied to the Paschal gospel lections, continues (cf. sanctuary) on the south wall of the naos with representations of the myrrhophores informing the apostles of Christ's resurrection, apostles discovering Christ's empty tomb, Road to Emmaus (in the lunette of the three-light window are representations of Sts. Symeon the Stylite and Symeon of Mandras), Luke and Cleopas informing the apostles of their meeting with Christ; on the west wall is one of Christ's appearances to the apostles and Christ appearing behind closed doors; on the north wall the apostles setting off for a fish hunt (in the lunette of the three-light window are holy stylites Alypios and Daniel), the appearance of Christ on the See of Galilee and Christ eating the honey and the fish. The cycle ends inside the altar space (cf. sanctuary).

In the zone below there are representations of Passion lections which are a follow-up of those found in the altar space (cf. sanctuary), south of the iconostasis: Christ lecturing the apostles after the washing of the feet; on the south wall: Agony in the Garden, Judas accepting the pieces of silver, Betrayal of Judas, Christ Tried Before Caiaphas, Christ Tried Before Annas; on the west wall: Christ Judged by Pilate, Peter's first and second denial, Third Denial of Peter, Peter's Remorse, Christ Judged by Herod and Pilate turns Christ over to the Jews; north wall: Mocking of Christ, Road to Calvary, Ascent of the Cross, Crucifixion, Joseph asking Pilate for the body of Christ. The cycle ends inside the altar space (cf. sanctuary).

Further down is a register with the cycle of St. George, south of the iconostasis: St. George before Diocletian and Torture by Spear; on the south wall: Torture on the Wheel, the saint encouraged by an angel, St. George faces the emperor again, Massacre of the Christians (in the window are figures of Sts. Eutropios and Leontios), Torture in the Lime Pit, the saint drinking poison, Torture by Nails, Torture by Beating; west wall (following a figure of St. Philemon): St. George and the magician, the saint raising the dead to life, Torture by Stoning, Torture by Rake (and St. Adrianus); north wall: St. George restoring Glycerios's two oxen to life, the saint tearing down idols, return of St. George to Lassia with the princess and the beaten dragon (in the window are St. Eupsychios and Alexandra), Diocletian sentences to death St. George and Alexandra, Beheading of St. George, Burial of St. George and death of other Christians.

Register of single standing figures. On the east wall, south of the iconostasis, is a Synaxis of the Archangels. On the south wall are martyrs Eustratios, Auxentios,

Eugenios, Mardarios, Orestes and holy warriors Procopios, Nicetas, Andronicos and Sabas Stratelates (in half-figure) (on the inner sides of the entrance are two leaved crosses accompanied by the letters IC XC Y ΘY), Demetrios Apokauchos and Nestor. On the west wall are St. James the Persian, the evangelist Mark, apostle Peter; in the passage leading to the narthex St. Theodore Teron (?) followed by the apostle Paul, evangelist Luke, Hermogenes and Menas Kalykelados. On the north wall are holy warriors Artemios (?), Alexander, Christopher, Merkurios, Menas, Eustathios Plakidas and martyrs Anempodistos, Elpidephoros, Aphthonios, Pegasios, Acindynus and, finally, archbishop Sava "Sava the Right Reverend *(hagiotatos)* archbishop...".

Pilaster strips on the east wall around the iconostasis. Below the Annunciation are half-figures of prophet Daniel with a scroll (Daniel 2, 34), a rock with an image of Christ Emmanuel beside him, and the Old Testament patriarch Jacob with a scroll (Numbers 24, 17) and a star with the image of Emmanuel. In the bottom zone are representations of the Virgin Kaicharitomene with Christ on the north and Christ the Merciful with an open gospel book (Matthew 11, 28) on the south pilaster strip.

Iconostasis. Two fresco-icons are painted on the surfaces of the walled-up intercolumnal spaces: St. Georgios Tropaiophoros (the inscription later changed into Diasoritis) and the Virgin with Christ (later added and rubbed out inscription reading "the Caressing of the Lord" and, over this text, "Mother of God for all Pelagonitissa").

South pier. In the uppermost zone are half-figures of martyrs, Sts. Theodule and Theodotos (south side), Agathopous and Eutropios (west), an unknown martyr and Sozon (north), Sebastian and Benjamin (east). Below them are figures of martyr saints Zenobia and Hermylus (south side), Florus and Laurus (west), Boniface and Justin the Philosopher (north), Genadius and Rhodion (east). Further down is another register of martyrs: Sts. Polychronia and Gerontios (south side), Sergius and Bacchus (west), Porphyrios (north) and Onesiphoros (east). In the register of single standing figures, on the south side we find an unknown martyr, on the west St. George under an ornamental arch, on the north St. Nicholas and on the east an unidentified martyr.

North pier. In the uppermost zone are half-figures of martyr saints Romanus and Plato (south side), Agathopous and Lucianus (west), Meliton and Antonin (north), Nicholas the New and Gordios (east). Below them are figures of holy martyrs Zenobia and Paramonos (south side), Carpus and Papylus (west), Trophimos and Sabbatios (north), Anthimos and Parthenios (east). Further down is another register with figures of martyrs: Tryphon and Mamas (south side), Nicholas the New and Eudocimos (west), Caesar and Darius (north), Maximianus and Proclus (east). In the register of single standing figures of saints we find St. John the Prodromos on the south, the evangelist Matthew on the west, St. Polyeuctos on the north and St. Hyacinthus on the east side.

Narthex

In the calotte of the south-west dome is a half-figure of evangelist Matthew with an open book (Matthew 1, 1) and in the drum representations of Old Testament kings, Solomon, Rehoboam and another two with no names preserved while the figure of the fifth king is badly damaged.

In the calotte of the north-west dome is a half-figure of evangelist Mark with an open gospel book (Mark 1, 1); five Old Testament patriarchs appear in the drum but only the names of Abraham and Reuben have been preserved while images of cherubim decorate the pendentives.

The vaults and upper parts of the walls are filled with scenes and personages from the Menologion tied to the immovable feasts (a detailed survey of their distribution is found in V. R. Petković, *Kalendar u starom živopisu srpskom. Freske u Starom Nagoričinu*, Starinar III, 1, 1923, 3–18; Mijović, *Menolog*, 259–284 and Todić, *Nagoričino*, 79–85).

In the two-light window on the west wall are four medallions with half-figures of St. Cosmas, Anthony and two other unknown saints. On the west wall is the Dormition of the Virgin.

Standing single figures of saints are located in the bottom zone. On the south wall: Sts. Cosmas, Damian, Panteleimon, Anthony, Sabas, Euthymios, Arsenios, Paul of Thebes and an unknown monk. On the west wall: hosios father Prochor of Pčinja, hosios father Joachim of Sarandapor, the inscription referring to the decoration of the church, Ephraim the Syriac, Stephen the New, Theodore of Stoudion, in the lunette above the entrance is the year 6826 (1317/18), on the south lintel is a leaved cross with abbreviations Φ X Π E N, and on the north an identical cross with the letters IC XC Y ΘY E E (E) E, further on – an angel in monastic habit turning towards St. Pachomios, Joseph the Melodos, Cosmas the Melodos with the words of the sticheron "More honourable than the cherubim" on his scroll and John Damascene. On the north wall are figures of the holy emperor Constantine and empress Helena with the cross, Simonida ("Simonida the most exalted Queen Komnene"), king Milutin ("Stefan Uroš in Christ God faithful King of all Serbian lands and the Littoral"), with a model of the church in his hands, St. George extending a sword to the king and three other saints. On the east wall are figures of St. Eugraphos, the Virgin Paraklissa with an unrolled scroll, Stephen the Protomartyr, Georgios Gorgos, Christ the Saviour with an open gospel (John 8, 12; 12, 46–48) and St. Benjamin.

On the capitels of the pillars are inscriptions with the name of king Milutin in a Hellenised form, the same also appears on the north pillar and above the walled-up opening of the staircase on the west wall.

Facade
In the lunette above the western entrance is a badly damaged half-figure of St. Georgios Tropaiophoros.

The frescoes of Nagoričino are well known to scholars because they have been catalogued and published a number of times: Okunjev, *Staro Nagoričino*, 87–120; P. J. Popović – V. R. Petković, *Staro Nagoričino – Psača – Kalenić*, 1–49, pls. IX–XXXIII; V. R. Petković, *Kalendar u starom živopisu srpskom*, 3–18; Petković, *La peinture serbe*, I, pl. 40–43/b; II, 23–29, pl. XLVII–LVII; Petković, *Pregled*, 204–208; Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 58–62, sh. IX–XII, pls. CXVI–CLXXVIII; Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, III, pl. 71–119; Hamann-Mac Lean – Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei*, 34–36, Plan 31–33, Abb. 273–316; Mijović, *Menolog*, 259–284, figs. 19–114; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 71–87, pls. I–XVII, figs. 7–103.

The beginnings of their study date back to the last decades of the XIX century and were at first restricted to noting the inscription with the date of the decoration and mentioning the frescoes of historical contents. Works of this sort were published by P. Srećković, *Nagorič*, Brastvo III (1889), 228–235; J. Hadži Vasiljević, *Nagoričke crkve*, Glasnik pravoslavne crkve, Beograd 1901, 10–12; id., *Južna Stara Srbija, I. Kumanovska oblast*, Beograd 1909, 427–435; N. P. Kondakov, *Makedonija – arheologičeskoe putešestvie*, Sankt-Peterburg 1909, 196–199, figs. 135–137. Only G. Millet who studied the frescoes of Nagoričino, especially their iconography, with greater care (Millet, *Recherches*, s. v. in the index *Nagoriča*). He also discovered the signature of one of the painters, Eutychios (G. Millet, *L'école grecque dans l'architecture byzantine*, Paris 1916, 12, fig. 2; id., *L'ancien art serbe. Les églises*, Paris 1919, fig. 10; id. in: Comptes rendus des Séances de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres, avril – juillet, Paris 1934, 223). The inscription referring to the decoration of the church with wall paintings was published by Lj. Stojanović in *SSZN*, I, 21; J. Ivanov, *B'lgarski starini iz Makedonija*, Sofia 1931, 132 (along with the year recorded in the lunette above the western entrance) and later by many others.

A new page in the study of Nagoričino's frescoes was written by N. L. Okunev and V. R. Petković who catalogued and described them while also publishing a notable number of the wall paintings. Petković also discovered the signature of the painter Michael (P. J. Popović – V. R. Petković, *Staro Nagoričino – Psača – Kalenić*, 23, pl. XXX/2). This opened the way for more in-depth scholarly invesigations, primarily in the domain of iconography: J. Myslivec included the cycles of St. Nicholas and St. George from Nagoričino in broader studies of these themes in Byzantine art (J. Myslivec, *Svatý Jiri ve východokrstanském umení*, BS V, 1933–1934, 304–369; id., *Dve studie z dejin bizantiskeho umění*, Praha 1948, 55–93); Lj. Wratislav-Mitrović and N. L. Okunev wrote about the Dormition (Wratislav-Mitrović et Okunev, *La Dormition*, 153 et passim); N. Belaev on the Virgin from the iconostasis (N. Beljaev, *Obraz Božjej Materi Pelagonitisy*, BS II, 1930, 387–392), convinced that the accompanying epithet Pelagonitissa was original, a hypothesis acknowledge for a long time (P. Miljković-Pepek, *Umilitelnite motivi vo vizantiskata umetnost na Balkanot i problemot na Bogorodica Pelagonitisa*, Zbornik na Arheološkiot muzej vo Skopje, II, 1958, 1–27; L. Hadermann-Misguich, *Pelagonitissa et Kardiotissa: variantes extrêmes du type Vierge de Tendresse*, Byzantion LIII/1, 1983, 9–16); S. Radojčić studied the scene of Mocking of Christ (S. Radojčić, *Ruganje Hristu na fresci u Starom Nagoričinu*, Narodna starina XIV, 1939, 3–19 = Radojčić, *Uzori i dela*, 155–179), included the portraits of king Milutin and queen Simonida in his book on Serbian royal portraits (Radojčić, *Portreti*, 37–38) and reflected on the artistic qualities of other frescoes (S. Radojčić, *Freske u Milutinovim zadužbinama*, Umetnički pregled II/7, 1939, 205–206).

The discovery of the signatures of painters Michael and Eutychios in the Virgin Peribleptos at Ohrid and Bogorodica Ljeviška at Prizren in the 1950's, together with their already known signatures from Nagoričino and St. Nikita, inspired several scholars to investigate their works, the relationship between the two artists, their origins and other questions related to these painters (cf. Todić, *Nagoričino*, 32–33); cf. the entries Bogorodica Ljeviška and St. Prochor of Pčinja in this chapter). The most valuable book published as a result of such interests is that written by Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, in which the author focuses most of his attention on three monuments with fresco ensembles signed by Michael and Eutychios: the Ohrid church of the Peribleptos, St. Nikita and Nagoričino, as well as on other similar works. He pointed out the iconographic and stylistic features of the frescoes and attempted to distinguish the works of each artist. He made and almost complete list of the frescoes, devoted somewhat more attention to the decoration of the dome, the iconography of the Great Feasts and some of the saints and carefully investigated the most significant elements of the paintings. Hallensleben's *Die Malerschule*, created as a result of similar impulses underlying the previously mentioned book by P. Miljković-Pepek – a desire to study the art of Michael and Eutychios and their associates as a whole – although based on a different method often resulting in different conclusions, is no less important in the study of Nagoričino's frescoes: the author published once again all the inscriptions containing historical data (pp. 31–34), investigated the programme of the wall paintings (57–60), reflected on the iconographically most interesting representations (68–98) and their artistic treatment (110–121).

Historical portraits represent another circle of themes lately of great interest to the scholars. Thus, in an article dedicated to the role of the Serbian court and church in the art of the early XIV century in Serbia, V. J. Djurić demon-

strated in what way the mixing of Serbian, local and cults nurtured in the archbishopric of Ohrid reflected on the frescoes of Nagoričino (Djurić, *L'art des Paléologues et l'Etat serbe*, 179–191), a subject later expounded further by Grozdanov, *Portreti*, 78, 161–162. After Radojčić, the ktetor's composition was studied most meticulously by Djurić: having studied all the data offered by the inscription written out on the lintel of the western entrance and the painting in which king Milutin holds a model of the church, with St. George offering him a sword, he associated the construction of the church with the triumph over the Turks in Asia Minor which the Serbian army had attained in those years (Djurić, *Tri dogadjaja*, 68–76), an interpretation acknowledged among scholars: Milošević, *Srbi svetitelji*, 199–200; Velmans, *Le portrait*, 112–113; Kisas, *Solun*, 29–42. Recently, Djurić (Saopštenja XXVI, 1994, 194–197) returned again to the problem of the ktetor's composition and briefly communicated the results of his latest research of this painting and the inscription accompanying Simonida and Milutin.

We should also mention some of the more recent works on the iconography of the frescoes from Nagoričino: S. Radojčić, *Pilatov sud u vizantijskom slikarstvu ranog XIV veka*, ZRVI XIII (1971), 293–310; id., *Die Reden des Johannes Damaskenos*, 305–310; A. Grabar, *Sur les sources des peintres byzantins des XIIIe et XIVe siècles*, CA XII (1962), 351–354; J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'Enfance de la Vierge dans l'Empire byzantin et en Occident*, I, Bruxelles 1964, 46, 64, 112, 127, 132, 177, 178, 205; Patterson-Ševčenko, *St. Nicholas*, 42, 66–122; T. Mark-Weiner, *Narrative Cycles of the Life of St. George in Byzantine Art*, New York University 1977, 47–48, 123–124, 154–155, 163, 174, 183–185, 207–208, 216; Mijović, *Menolog*, 7–11, 35–39, 71, 119–120, 259–284; Lj. D. Popovich, *Compositional and Theological Concepts in Four Prophet Cycles in Churches Selected from the Period of King Milutin (1282–1321)*, Cyrillomethodianum VIII–IX (1984–1985), 283–317; Babić, *Les chapelles*, 136–137; Hamann-Mac Lean, *Grundlegung*, passim; Babić, *Les croix*, 7, 8, 10, 11. The iconostasis and the surrounding wall paintings drew the attention already of the first visitors of Nagoričino and, apart from Beljaev, Miljković-Pepek and L. Hadermann-Misguich, they were also investigated by A. Grabar, *Deux notes sur l'histoire de l'iconostase d'après des monuments de Yougoslavie*, ZRVI 7 (1961), 17–22; I. M. Djordjević, *Dve molitve kralja Stefana Dečanskog pre bitke na Velbuždu i njihov odjek u umetnosti*, Zbornik LU 15 (1974), 136–140; Babić, *Živopisani ukras*, 27–31; *Ikone*, Beograd 1983, 140 (G. Babić). The artistic qualities of the paintings created by Michael and Eutychios at Nagoričino were studied with greatest dedication by Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 102–105 (as the most comprehensive expression of representative court academism in Serbian painting of king Milutin's age); Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 120–200 (analysed them carefully using the morphological and attributive method); Chatzidakis, *Classicisme*, 156–157; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 71–72 (regarded them as the apogee in the path of development of the two painters); Djurić, *La peinture byzantine vers 1300*, 74–75 (included them in the classicist phase of development of Byzantine painting of the early XIV century); Stojaković, *Arhitektonski prostor*, 130–132 et passim (investigated the manner of representing architecture on the frescoes, M. Σωτηρίου, *Η Μακεδονική Σχολή και η λεγομένη Σχολή Μιλουτίν*, ΔΧΑΕ, 4/5, 1969, 1–25 (compared them to other contemporary frescoes, primarily those of Thessalonikan origin); V. Mako, *Pojedini postupci u komponovanju scena Pričešća apostola slikarske radionice Mihaila i Evtihija*, Zograf 23 (1993–1994), 18–27.

Recently, in a new monograph (Todić, *Nagoričino*), significant attention has been focused on the frescoes: the inscriptions referring to the ktetor and the painters (pp. 25–27) and the historiography (29–34), the frescoes were catalogued once more (71–87), the programme of the sanctuary studied (89–94) as well as the theme of the Incarnation (94–100), the iconography of the Great Feasts and other cycles (100–116), the portraits (117–126) and artistic merits of the painters working at Nagoričino (127–138).

In the meantime, the frescoes of Nagoričino entered all the more significant surveys of ancient Serbian and Byzantine art, less extensive texts, both popular and scientific in genre, were also written about them and they were included in numerous works on medieval painting. For a complet bibliography on these wall paintings cf. Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 262–263 and Todić, *Nagoričino*, 29–34 et passim.

Studenica

Church of Sts. Joachim and Anne (Kraljeva crkva)



In 1313/14 king Milutin raised a parekklesion in Studenica, the most highly esteemed of all Serbian monasteries, the final resting place of its ktetor and the king's ancestor, the great jupanus Stefan Nemanja (St. Symeon). The acting hegoumenos Jovan was also engaged in the endeavour (cf. M. Janković, *Studenički arhimandrit i protosindjel Jovan*, Istorijski časopis XXXVII, 1990–1991, 205–210), as recorded in the carved inscription on the east facade of the church, located by that including the name of the ktetor, king Milutin, and the date of construction of the church, 6822 (1313/14) (this inscription has often been published, most recently in Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 20–21). Other sources also associate the construction and decoration of the church with king Milutin: Danilo II, *Die Königsbiographien*, 181, as do the inscriptions on the colonettes of the two-light windows and the king's portrait in the church. The church shared the fate of the monastery, cf. Babić, *Studenica*, 10–20, 90–94, 146–153, 180–187 (S. Ćirković), but did not suffer too much damage. The frescoes were conserved in two instances, in 1951–1953 and 1969–1976 (*Kulturno nasledje Srbije 1947–1982*, Beograd 1982, 82).

The church is a building of the abridged cross-in-square type with a dome. The sanctuary consisting of a deep altar apse with a niche and two other apses for the prothesis and the diaconicon lies on the east. All the walls are covered with well preserved wall paintings. On the architecture of the church cf. Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 27–35.

It is usually assumed that the frescoes were created in 1314 or around 1315. However, that assumption is not entirely correct because, as a rule, churches were decorated with frescoes only a couple of years after their construction. An early dating of these wall paintings from Studenica was substantiated by the changes in the appearance of king Milutin observed on his portraits, from Arilje to Gračanica (H. Hallensleben, *Die Stifterbildnisse als mittelbare Quelle für die Datierung der Malereien in den Kirchen König Milutins*, XIIe congr. intern. des études byzantines. Résumés des communications, Ohrid 1961, 43–44; Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 231, fig. 139). Although minor chronological alterations were introduced to the dating of wall paintings in some of the churches in the meantime, they did not affect considerably the suggested order of creation of the king's portraits. Comparated to the precisely dated example from Nagoričino, on his portrait from Studenica the king appears to be older. However, it should be pointed out that Milutin's portrait from Nagoričino is quite damaged and that in both churches his beard looks practically the same. Had the king really been portrayed in 1314–1315 in Studenica, and in 1317/18 in Nagoričino, the difference would certainly have been greater. It is, therefore, more probable that the chronological distance between the two paintings is shorter. Also, in Studenica, there are more greys in the king's beard and his eyes are more slanted. For those reasons it seems that the first of the two portraits was cre-

ated in Nagoričino (1317/18), to be followed immediately by that from Studenica painted in 1318 or 1319. Such a relationship between the two churches decorated by the same painters, even if we disregard the fact that Nagoričino was raised before Kraljeva crkva which could have affected the order of their decoration, would account for the irregularities in the drawing, contrasting colours and divergencies from classicism occassionally still present in Nagoričino and non-existent in Studenica as well as for the fact that Studenica is stylistically closer to Gračanica, especially to its frescoes from the upper zones. The works of Michael and Eutychios would, thus, stand in the following order: Nagoričino – Studenica – Gračanica; in the first church they would have worked from 1315 to 1317/18, in the second in 1318–1319 and from 1319/20 to 1321 in the third.

The signatures of the painters have not been preserved but there is no doubt that they were Michael and Eutychios.

The inscriptions on the frescoes are Serbian.

The programme of the fresco decoration.

Sanctuary

In the conch of the apse is an enthroned Virgin with Christ on her lap with an archangel on either side of the throne. On the capitel of the colonette of the two-light window is a leaved cross and on either side of the window opening representations of Communion with bread and Communion with Wine. Below the window is a niche with the Amnos on a paten and a chalice, surrounded by angel-deacons with rhypidia and accompanied by an inscription the text of which is adopted from the Proskomide ride. On both sides and not only in the apse, the Amnos is approached by a number of bishops with unrolled scrolls those taking part in the Celebration of Holy Liturgy: on the North side is St. Nicholas (with the text of the prayer of the Third Antiphon), in front of him is St. Athanasios (with the prayer of the Trisagion hymn) and in front of this bishop St. Basil (with the prayer of the Cherubic hymn); on the south side are St. John Chrysostomos (with the prayer of Oblation), behind him St. Gregory the Theologian (with the prayer preceding "More especially...") and then St. Cyril of Alexandria (with the text of "More especially our most holy and undefiled..."); the procession of bishops continues on the north side of the altar: St. Gregory the Thaumaturgos (with the prayer following the Anaphora, "Moreover we offer into thee"), St. Dionysios the Areopagite (with the prayer following the reading of the names of the deceased from the dyptich) and St. Gregory of Nyssa (the prayer following "Our father"), and on the south side: St. Ignatios Theophoros (with the text preceding the Anaphora), St. Peter of Alexandria (with the prayer following the Communion, from the liturgy of Chrysostomos) and St. James brother of the Lord (with the prayer following the comunion from the liturgy of St. Basil).

Above the apse is the Annunciation and further down the Presentation of Christ in the temple, divided into two parts, and on the soffit of the arch the images of David, Solomon and two old testament high priests.

At the top of the prothesis niche is a half-figure of an unknown bishop and, below him the figures of Sts. Stephen and Romanus. In the diaconicon niche is a half-figure of St. Abercius and below him the figures of an unknown deacon and St. Isavrios. The cycle of the Virgin begins and ends in the space above these niches (cf. naos).

In the window on the north wall are half-figures of Sts. Polycarp and Spyridon and those of Sylvester and Clement in the window on the opposite wall.

Naos

The calotte of the dome is taken up by an image of Christ Pantokrator with representations of celestial powers from the vision of Ezekiel surrounding his medallion. The cherub, eagle and angels are preserved. Encirkling this representation is the Celestial Liturgy. In the drum are prophets with unrolled scrolls: Ezekiel (Ezekiel 32, 1), Isaiah (Isaiah 1, 1 or 65, 17), Elijah (II Kings 2, 6), Elisha (II Kings 2, 4), Jonah (Jonah 2, 3), Habakkuk (Habakkuk 3, 2), Jeremijah (Jeremijah 38, 31) and Sophoniah (Sophoniah 3, 14).

Around the perimeter of the base of the dome there were 36 half-figures of Old Testament righteous. The names of Eve, Adam, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Salmon, Booz, Obed, Josiah, Jechoniah, Azor, Sadoch, Eliud, Ozias, Hezekiah and Manasseh.

Between the pendentives on the east side is the Mandelion and on the west the Keramion. On the south and north side are two angels in medallions. On the south-east pendentive is the evangelist John with Prochor, on the south-west Mark, on the north-west Luke and on the north-east Matthew. On the soffit of he arch by the east wall were three medallions with crosses and ten half-figures of bishops, of which St. Eleutherios, Blasios, Antipas, Leo, Epiphanios, Proclus, Niphon and Tarasios are known by name. On the front side of the lower arch are medallions with half-figures of the apostoles, ending with representations of the evangelist. On the front side of the arch above the south wall are ten half-figures of martyrs in medallions, names are preserved only by Eusthratios, Auxentios, Eugenios and Mardarios. On the soffit of his arch are medallions with half-figures of St. Florus and probably Laurus as well as two other saints in full figure, one of whom may be St. Papylus and the other, perhaps, Carpus. On the front side of the arch over the north wall there were also twelve half-figures of martys in medallions of which only nine are better preserved and those of St. Menas, Sergius, Bacchus and Christopher together with their names. On the soffit of this arch were two half-figures of martyrs, encased in a medallion, Sts. Epiphanios and Phocas as well two saints in full figure of which only St. Eudocimus together with his name.

Individual saints are also found on several other loca-

tions in the naos. On the south wall, left and right of the window, there are medallions with images of Sabas Stratelates and, perhaps, Andrew Stratelates. In the lunette above the window is St. Symeon the Stylite and, below him, on the capitel of the colonette, is an inscription with the king's name "Stefan". Around the window on the west wall are half-figures of martyr saints Photios and Anicetas in medallions, above the two-light window is St. Alypius the Stylite and, on the capitel, the king's name "Uroš". On the north wall are representations of St. Aretas and Polyeuctos in medallions and an unknown stylite between them. In the lower windows are representations of Sts. Cosmas and Damian (south wall) and St. Procopios and an unknown holy warrior (norh wall).

On the walls of the naos are the Great Feasts which were not dedicted in the sanctuary: on the south wall the Nativity and Baptism; on the west the Metamorphosis, Entry into Jerusalem and, below them, the Dormition (with adjoined figures of holy poets Cosmas and Joseph, Johan of Damascus and Theodore of Stoudion celebrating the Virgin through their poetry written out on their unrolled scrolls), and on the north wall the Crucifixion and Descent into Hades.

The cycle of the Virgin begins in the lower zone, on the east wall of the sanctuary, by the apse with the Refusal of the Offerings and Joachim and Anne returning from the Temple and continues on the south wall with representations of Annuciation to Joachim, Annunciation to Anne, Meeting of Joachim and Anne, Birth of the Virgin, Mary Carressed by Her Parents, to be transferred to the north wall where we find the Blessings of the Three Priests, Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, Mary Given Away to Joseph, and end with the Drinking of the Water of Purification on the east wall, by the altar apse.

The register of single standing figures of saints includes the images of Christ (by the iconostasis), Joachim, Anne (with the infant Mary), king Milutin ("Stefan Uroš by the grace of God King and sovereign of all Serbian lands and the Littoral") carrying a model of the church and queen Simonida ("Simonida by the grace of God Queen Komnena and Palaiologina") on the south wall; remains of unknown saints on the south-west pilaster; Sts. Constantine and Helena and, apparently, Theodore Teron and Theodore Stratelates on the west wall; two other badly damaged figures of saints on the north-west pilaster and Sts. Demetrios, George, Sava the Serbian ("St. Sava Right Reverend Archbishop of all Serbian land and the Littoral"), Symeon ("St. Symeon Nemanja") and the Virgin with Christ (by the iconostasis) on the north wall.

Data on the frescoes from this church of Studenica monastery has been carefully gathered and constantly broadened for almost an entire century. The first scholar to describe and publish reproductions of a great number of these wall paintings was V. R. Petković, *Manastir Studenica*, Beograd 1924, 59–80, figs. 71–108; Petković, *La peinture serbe*, I, figs. 36d–39c; II, 22–23, pl. XLII–XLVI; Petković, *Pregled*, 318–320, figs. 1001–1005; followed by Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, III, pl. 54–70; Hamann-Mac Lean – Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei*, 32–34, Abb. 245–272, Plan 29–30a; M. Rajković, *Kraljeva crkva u Studenici*, Beograd 1964, pp. I–VII, figs. 2–7, 9–61; *Studenica*, Beograd 1968, 103–134 (D. Tasić); Babić, *Studenica*, figs. 84–113, and finally G. Babić in whose monograph practically all the frescoes were described and published together with their inscriptions and drawings of the paintings: Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 37–244, pls. I–XXXIII, figs. 2, 15–143, 145–147, 149, 151, 154, 157, 161.

In such a long history of scholarly interest for Kraljeva crkva and its frescoes the works of V. Djordjević, *Studenica – putnička crta*, Vila I (1865), 27–33, 46–50 (dwelled on the historical characters) and P. Pokryškin, *Pravoslavnaja cerkovnaja arhitektura XII–XVIII stol., v nynešnem Serbskom korolevstve*, Sankt-Peterburg 1906, 52–57, pls. LVI, LX, LXIII (described most of the scenes and saints in the first zone, compared them to the frescoes of Nagoričino and Gračanica and assumed that the same artist worked in all three churches) are the first in line. Some valuable observations regarding the iconography of these frescoes from Studenica were published by Millet, *Recherches*, 111–112, 136, 184, 212–214, 228, 272, 409; Wratislav-Mitrović et Okunev, *La Dormition*, 152–153, pl. VI, fig. 1–2; Stefanescu, *L'illustration des liturgies*, 438, 447. Following them, other authors also devoted significant attention to their iconography: Hallensleben, *Die Malerschule*, 56–57, 72–75, 78 (on the programme of the frescoes and the iconography of the Baptism and the Dormition); J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *L'iconographie de l'Enfance de la Vierge dans l'Empire byzantin et en Occident*, Bruxelles 1964, 46, 64, 66, 74, 80, 87, 107–110, 114, 126–127, 132, 134, 154, 176, 203 (on the cycle of the Virgin); Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 88–93 (on the Communion of the Apostles); C. Grozdanov, *Prodor portreta Klimenta Ohridskog*, Zbornik LU 3 (1967), 66–67, (= Grozdanov, *Portreti*, 76, 78–79) (on the image of the saint assumed to represent St. Clement of Ohrid); Radojčić, *Die Reden des Johannes Damaskenos*, 301–312 (on the Dormition); Lj. D. Popovich, *Compositonal and Theological Concepts in Four Prophet Cycles in Churches Selected from the Period of King Milutin (1282–1321)*, Cyrillomethodianum VIII–IX (1984–1985), 283–317; and especially to the portraits: Radojčić, *Portreti*, 35–37; Kovačević, *Srednjovekovna nošnja*, 38–39; Ćorović-Ljubinković, *Uz problem*, 77–79, 81, 84; Milošević, *Srbi svetitelji*, 177–180, 190; D. Milošević, *Ikonografija svetoga Save*, Sava Nemanjić – sveti Sava, Beograd 1979, 297–298; S. Ćurčić, *The Nemanjić Family Tree in the Light of the Ancestral Cult in the Church of Joachim and Anna at Studenica*, ZRVI 14–15 (1973), 191–195; B. Cvetković, *König Milutin und die Parakklesia des Hl. Joachim und der Hl. Anna in Kloster Studenica*, Balcanica XXVI (1995), 251–276 (on the dedication and the motives behind the raising of this church).

The exceptional artistic qualities of the frescoes in question were a subject of interest for a number of research. Following the first scholars who wrote about Kraljeva crkva, they were investigated in particular by N. L. Okunev, *Monumenta artis serbicae*, II, Prague 1930, 4–6; III (1931), 4 and, after him, by M. Rajković, *Kraljeva crkva u Studenici*, pp. I–VII; Hallensleben, *Die Malerschule*, 152–158; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 105–109; Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, 213–217; *Studenica*, 103–104 (D. Tasić); Stojaković, *Arhitektonski prostor*, 128, 130–132, 146, 157; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 70–71; S. Radojčić, *Kraljeva crkva*, Osam vekova Studenice, Beograd 1986, 207–214; Todić, *Manastir Studenica*, 204–212; V. Mako, *Pojedini postupci u komponovanju scena Pričešća apostola slikarske radionice Mihaila i Evtihija*, Zograf 23 (1993–1994), 18–27.

The results of all these investigations were gathered and critically reviewed by Gordana Babić (*Kraljeva crkva*) in 1987. Apart from historiography and architecture, she discussed in detail the question of the ktetor and dedicated the greater part of her book to the programme and iconography of the wall paintings. Basing her research on knoledge of liturgical texts and taking into consideration an abundance of similar works from more ancient or contemporary art, she exsamined and explained more thoroughly and successfully the contents of various images from Studenica. At times, a certan surplus of erudition lead the author to conclusions which are not easily acceptable (for example, in the case of the themes found in the dome). In other instances, however, this erudition introduced valuable corrections and additional information to the understanding of the Nativity, Baptism, Descent into Hades or Dormition. On the other hand, G. Babić examined the style of the frescoes through the manner of rendering space, time and the human figure. This enabled her to differentiate the paintings of each of the two artists – whom she identified as Michael and Eutychios – and those of their associates and to determine much more reliably the place of these frescoes from Studenica in the art of the age of the Palaiologoi in Byzantium and Serbia.

More recently, several other texts on these frescoes have also been published: Babić, *Studenica*, 102–140; Velmans, *La peinture murale*, 241 et passim; M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, *Byzantin Wall-Paintings*, Athens 1994, 241–242; Djurić, *La peinture byzantine vers 1300*, 72–75. The wall paintings of Kraljeva crkva have long since been included in all the more significant surveys of Serbian medieval and Byzantine art, cf. Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 261–262, the most complete bibliography of works published to date has been put together by B. Melcer in *Blago manastira Studenice*, Beograd 1988, 323–371.



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Studenica, Kraljeva crkva,
Prophet Isaiah, 1318–1319

Gračanica

Church of the Annunciation



Around 1315 king Milutin restored the very fondations the cathedral church of the bishopric of Lipljan at the site of an ancient basilica replaced in the XIII century by a small single-nave church raised by one of his ancestors. Several years later the church was decorated with frescoes and received a character inssued to it by the king; in a somewhat abridged form, its text is written out on the west wall of the south parekklesion (the charter has been published several times, cf. Todić, *Gračanica*, 63–68, fig. 5, and best by B. Živković, *Gračanička povelja*, Beograd 1992). Apart from the writings of Danilo II (Danilo II, *Die Königsbiographien*, 181) and the text of this charter, several portraits of the king painted on different locations in the church and his monograms in the naos (on the monograms cf. R. Petrović, *Monogrami kralja Stefana Uroša II Milutina u Gračanici*, Saopštenja XIII, 1981, 105–114) also speak of Milutin as the ktetor of this church. The acting bishop Ignjatije was also engaged in the endeavour of dekorating the church (Todić, *Gračanica*, 70–71). Until the end of the XVII century it was the cathedral church of bishops of Lipljan (Gračanica, Novo Brdo). At an unkown date an exonarthex was added to the church and this structure was decorated with wall paintings in at least two different instances. In the church proper, there are only a couple of frescoes of a later date (on them cf. Todić, *Gračanica*, 76–77, 239–263, with previous bibliography). On the history of the monastery cf. S. Ćurčić, *Gračanica. King Milutin's Church and Its Place in Late Byzantine Architecture*, The Pennsylvania State University 1979, 12–30; M. Janković, *Lipljanska episkopija i Gračanička mitropolija*, Istorijski časopis XXIX–XXX (1982–1983), 27–36.

The architectural structure of the church is complex and harmonious. Its kernel consists of a domed cross-in-square structure resting on four piers. The sanctuary is covered by a calotte and, apart from an apse, includes two niches, one for the prothesis and the other for the diaconicon. This kernel is envelopped by another cross-in-square structure which has the form of an underlying cross and, on ground-plan level, the appearance of a narthex and ambulatory aisles ending in parekklesia with apses and four smaller domes rising over them. The parekklesia communicate with the sanctuary through wide arched openings (closed off by low walls immediately upon their construction) and with the naos through regular entrances. There are three arched openings between the narthex and the naos. Above the narthex there is another room, the gallery chamber, reached through a staircase cut into the west wall of the naos. Originaly, there were three entrances to the church but the one on the north side was later walled up. An exonarthex was later raised in front of the west facade of the church. On the architecture of Gračanica cf. S. Ćurčić, *Gračanica*, 31–127.

Since there is no written record of the date of decoration of the church, it can be deduced only indirectly. In his charter issued in 1321, king Milutin says that he "raised and decorated" the church which means that it must have received its wall paintings by that time. Although the fact that the first visitors of Gračanica saw the year 1321/22 inscribed "above the main door" should not be easily discarded (M. S. Milojević, *Putopis dela prave Stare Srbije*, I, Beograd 1871, 155; A. Gil'ferding, *Sobranie sočinenij, t. III, Bosnija, Gercegovina i Staraja Serbija*, Sankt-Peterburg 1873, 163; I. Ivanić, *Na Kosovu*, Beograd 1903, 56; B. Dj. Nušić, *Kosovo – opis zemlje i naroda*, II, Novi Sad 1903, 32; T. P. Stanković, *Putne beleške po Staroj Srbiji 1871–1898*, Beograd 1910, 90), it can not be validated because the fresco decoration has

vanished from that spot, perhaps in the course of reparation works carried out in 1897 (J. Popović, *Manastir Gračanica na Kosovu*, Beograd 1927, 46). Since it has long been noted that the wall paintings are similar to those from Nagoričino and that, on his portrait from Gračanica, king Milutin appears to be much older, these frescoes have been dated to the period between 1318 and 1321 (Todić, *Gračanica*, 69–74). Because scholars have acknowledged the fact that the same painters worked on the decoration of Nagoričino, Studenica and Gračanica, as well as the above mentioned chronology according to which they were present in Nagoričino from 1315 to 1317/18 and in Studenica in 1318 or 1319, they could have began working in Gračanica in 1319 and 1320 and finished off the decoration of this church by October 1321.

The frescoes of Gračanica are quite well preserved and work on their cleaning has been under way, with longer breaks, for a number of years (*Kulturno nasledje Srbije 1947–1982*, Beograd 1982, 51). Only a partial report on these works has been published: A. Grguri, *Slikarsko-konzervatorski radovi u manastiru Gračanici izvedeni 1971. godine*, SKM VI–VII (1972), 191–197.

The authors of the frescoes are not known but, based on similarities with their signed works, it is assumed that these wall paintings were created by Michael and Eutychios and a great number of their assistants.

Most of the inscriptions are in Serbian although those in Greek are not all that rare (Todić, *Gračanica*, 80–110).

Disposition of the frescoes.

Sanctuary

Apse. At the top of the calotte is Christ Emmanuel surrounded by cherubim. Directly below him is the Virgin Platytera flanked by archangels Michael and Gabriel. In the zone below is the Communion with Bread and Communion with Wine, and in the lunette of the three-light window a seraph with two rhypidia inscribed with the opening words of the Trisagion hymn. Further down is a register filled with half-figures of holy bishops: Gregory of Agrigentum, Gregory Dialogos, Eustathios of Antioch, Methodios, Hyppolite and Elias of Antioch. The bottom register contains the central part of the Celebration of Holy Liturgy: a paten with the Amnos, a closed gospel book and a chalice, all being blessed by Sts. Basil and John Chrysostomos while two angel-deacons with rhypidia stand behind the altar table.

In the calotte is the Ascension and in the medallions on the pendentives two angels and two bishops.

The vaults and the uppermost zones of the walls were reserved for the cycle of the Virgin of which the following scenes have been preserved: Refusal of the Offerings, Joachim and Anne returning from the Temple, Annunciation to Joachim (only partly), Birth of the Virgin (?), Blessings of the Three Priests, Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, Zachary Praying over the Rods of the Suitors, Zachary giving Mary away to Joseph, Annunciation (?), Joseph's reproaches and Mary drinking the water of Purification. On the west wall there were eight bishops in full or half-figure among them Sts. Eulothios, Silvanus and Agapetus. On the intrados of the triumphal arch there are eleven half-figures in medallions, mainly those of bishops: Samon, Abibus, Gourias, Therapon, Symeon, Leo the Roman, an unknown, Nicetas, Acepsimas (?), Joseph and Anthalos, and on the soffits of the arches connecting the lateral walls and the coloumns of the tribelon the half-figures of Sts. Neophytos and Anastasios (not preserved), Teophilos and Carterios (not preserved).

The walls, lower zone: south of the apse is the Holy Trinity (Hospitality of Abraham); on the south wall the righteous Abraham Welcoming the Three Angels and the Sacrifice of Abraham; on the north: Gideon's Fleece and the Tent of the Testament; north of the apse is Wisdom Hath Builded Her House.

Further down is a register filled with half-figures of bishops. On the east wall, south of the apse, are the images of Sts. Nectarios, Atticus and Genadius. On the south wall: Sts. Anatolios, Eusebius, Proclus, Cosmas, Theophilactus, Eutychios and Memnos. On the west wall, below the triumphal arch, were figures of four bishops. On the north wall: Sts. Epimachos, Dionysios, Meletios, an unknown, Antipatrus, Diadochos, Eulachios and Modestos. On the east wall, north of the apse: Sts. Nicephoros, Flavian and Gregory the Armenian.

The bottom register of paintings contains, on the east wall, south of the apse, figures of bishops participating in the Celebration of Holy Liturgy: St. Athanasios with a scroll (the "Mindful of our most holy..."); prayer on the south: St. Ignatios (prayer of the Little Entrance), St. Gregory the Thaumaturgos (Trisagion hymn) and St. Abercius (with the words following the Prayer below the chancel steps), and, after a candlestick, the frontally facing figures of bishops: Spyridon, Modestos and Polycarp; facing them on the north wall are Sts. Hypatius, Blasios and Eleutherios and, after a candlestick, a procession of bishops taking part in the Celebration of Holy Liturgy: St. Peter of Alexandria with the Offertory Prayer, St. Dionysios the Areopagite (Cherubicon), St. Nicholas (Second Prayer of the Faithful) which continues on the east wall, north of the apse, with the figures of St. Gregory of Nyssa (First Prayer of the Faithful) and St. Gregory the Theologian (Prayer of the Catechumens). In the prothesis niche is a half-figure of St. Stephen.

Naos

Dome. The calotte is taken up by a half-figure of Christ Pantokrator encircled by a representation of the Celestial Liturgy. In the drum are eight prophets with scrolls: Isaiah (6, 3), Jeremiah (31, 27), Elijah (II Kings 2, 2), Elisha (II Kings 2, 2), Jonah (1, 1), Micah (4, 6),

Sophoniah (3, 8) and Ezekiel (1, 9). On the pendentives are the evangelists: Matthew on the south-east, Mark on the south-west, Luke on the north-west and John, inspired by the hand of the Lord, on the north-east. Between the pendentives was the Mandelion on the east, the Keramion on the west and an angel in a medallion on the south side.

The upper cross. The vaults and the pediments – east arm: on the vault is a partly preserved Nativity and on the pediment the Presentation of Christ in the Temple; south arm: on the vault is the Raising of Lazarus and the Metamorphosis and on the pediment Christ addressing the apostles after the Metamorphosis and Christ teaching in Judea; west arm: on the vault is the Entry of Christ into Jerusalem and the Crucifixion and on the pediment Mid-Pentecost; north arm: the Pentecost on the vault and on the pediment scenes representing "Peter, you are the rock" and Peter sentencing Ananias to death. The uppermost register of the walls – east arm: Descent into Hades, Parable of the Publican and the Pharisee and further down a half-figure of St. Satyr, on the arches connecting the piers and the coloumns in the sanctuary the half-figures of Sts. Basiliscus and Cleonicus (north) and an unknown martyr (south), also the Parable of the Wise and the Foolish Virgins and below it the half-figure of St. Andonios; south arm: Christ in the House of Martha and Mary and, below this scene, the half-figure of St. Marcellus, Christ teaching the Jew how to find salvation and Christ speaks of the end of time, further down the half-figures of St. Nazarius and another martyr and lower still those of Sts. Damian and Cosmas in medallions, also Christ and the adulterous woman and, below it, the half-figure of St. Capeton, on the arches between the piers and the walls Sts. Largus, Elpidios and another martyr; west arm: Matthew leaving the publican profession and Purification of the Temple, on the arch between the pier and the south wall Sts. Julian and Ephraim; north arm: Christ reading in the Temple and Christ asking the apostles about himself (further down St. John and another doctor in medallions) and "Be ye as children", below a half-figure of St. Sylvester and, on the arch between the pier and the wall, those of St. Nicephoros and an unknown martyr.

The lower cross. The vaults and the pediments – south arm: on the vault are representations of the Last Supper and the Agony in the Garden and on the pediment the Washing of the Feet; north arm: on the vault is the Betrayal of Judas and Christ Tried Before Annas and on the pediment Christ Tried Before Caiaphas.

The walls, the uppermost register of frescoes – south bay: Road to Calvary, St. Symeon the Stylite at the top of the window and Nicodemus carrying the cross; west bay: Christ and the Samaritan Woman, Marriage at Cana and below these two Christ Healing the Blind, Christ and Zaccheus (king Milutin's name inscribed in medallions over the two-light window and a leaved cross with the letters ĨC X̃C NĨ K̃A), on the capitel), Healing of the Paralytic, a damaged scene with Christ, Healing of the Man with the Water Disease (?) and furter down Christ's feet anointed by a sinful woman; north bay: Christ Judged by Pilate, Peter's Denial, St. Daniel the Stylite at the top of the window and Christ Judged by Herod (?); east bay: Healing of the Man with the Withered Hand and traces of some other scene.

The walls, middle register of frescoes – south bay: Crucifixion, Descent from the Cross and Lamentation; west bay: Angel Announcing the Death of the Virgin, Virgin Taking Leave of the Apostles, Dormition, Assumption of the Virgin, Apostles discovering the empty tomb and Thomas showing the Virgin's girdle to the apostles; north bay: Entombement and a damaged scene; east bay, north of the iconostasis: two damaged and unclear scenes with Pilate, south of the iconostasis: Annas and Caiaphas conferring with the Jews after the resurrection of Christ (?) and Joseph asks Pilate for the body of Christ.

The walls, lower register of frescoes – east bay, south of the iconostasis: three myrrhophores and the Virgin at the sepulchre of Christ, Holy Women at the Sepulchre, Christ and Mary Magdalene; south bay: myrrhophores informing the apostles of Christ's resurrection, apostle Peter with John at Christ's sepulchre, Road to Emmaus, Supper at Emmaus, Luke and Cleopas telling the apostles of their encounter with Christ; west bay: Christ appearing to the apostles and reproaching them for their disbelief and Christ appearing to the apostles behind closed doors: north bay: Christ eating the honey and the fish, Christ appearing on the See of Galilee and Incredulity of Thomas; east bay, north of the iconostasis: Christ speaking to Peter about John and Christ taking leave of the apostles.

The walls, register of the half-figures – east wall, south of the iconostasis: Dometian, Eutychios, Flavius, Cyril, Anthios and Eunicios; south wall: Sarcedon, Claudius, Anthios, Elianus, Philoctemon, Vivian, Gaius, Aggias and Anethios; west wall: Philemon, Eugraphos, Hermogenos, Heraclios, Eutychios, Theophilos and three other martyrs; east wall, north of the iconostasis: three martyrs, Theodoulos, Alexander and Houdion.

The walls, register of single standing figures – east wall, south of the iconostasis: Sts. John the Prodromos, John the Theologian, George; south wall: Theodore Stratelates, Theodore Teron, Arthemios, Nicetas and five leaved crosses in the arcosolium: ĨC X̃C Ñ K̃ Ẽ Ẽ P̃ P̃ . T̃ . T̃ P̃ P̃ . . Λ̃ Ẽ Λ̃; P̃ P̃ P̃ P̃; Ẽ Ẽ Ẽ Ẽ; . T̃ K̃ Π̃ Γ̃; Φ̃ X̃ Φ̃ Π̃; west wall: Sts. Panteleimon, Cosmas, Damian, Sava the Serbian ("St. Sava the Archbishop"), Constantine and Helena; north wall: Sts. Eustathios, Mercurios, Nestor, Procopios; east wall, north of the iconostasis: St. Demetrios, apostle Andrew, Stephen the Protomartyr.

The piers. South-east pier of the space beneath the dome, top register: the Virgin from the Annunciation, Sts. Darius, Eutychios, prophet David with a scroll inscribed